THE
MOTHER GODDESS

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S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A.

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MOTHER GODDESS

(A STUDY REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF HINDUISM)

BY

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DEDICATED TO

MY PARENTS

Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT and YASHODABAI DIKSHIT

—S. K. D.

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PREFACE

"यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः।"

The origin of Hinduism is a mystery. Here is an attempt to throw some light on that problem; but I must tell you frankly that this was not originally meant to be an attempt in that direction. I only intended to deal with the symbols on the ancient Indian punch-marked coins and seals; and while doing so, I determined to concern myself with *facts* only, and not with the opinions of any scholars howsoever eminent. *Amīcus Plato, sed magis amīca veritas.* I have naturally taken some liberty to criticise some very eminent scholars, but that is only to point out the inconclusiveness of their hypotheses, which are often looked upon by an average reader as established facts. But criticism does not mean any lack of reverence for them. Far from it! Criticism needs often be levelled against the arguments of those brilliant writers, who have swayed the opinion of the world by their powerful pen. Those, who cannot convince anybody but themselves, need not be wrangled with; but those clever *litterateurs*, whose arguments, wrong as they are, are difficult to refute, certainly deserve our careful attention. We criticise them most whom we honour most!

If my critical attention has, perhaps, led me to some wonderful vistas of the bygone age, it is not all my fault. I was enabled to discover what I had never dreamt of, so that I cannot hold myself responsible for many of the discoveries I have made. But, certainly, I hold myself responsible for the many mistakes, I have committed especially in the first half of the book, when I almost experimented with proof-correction: I confess, I did not probably pay the necessary attention to it, because, perhaps, I could not, on account of some inevitable occurrence in my life. I may also note that I could not always get Greek letters, and that while transcribing Greek names, I have, on a few occasions, indicated accents by long vowels, so that the reader, in search of an Indian equivalent, might be benefited. As regards Sanskrit diacritical marks, I have followed the system that is used in the Epigraphia Indica and other publications of the Archaeological Department of India.

"Somebody ought to tell the truth about the Bible", said Ingersoll. I must say:— "Somebody ought to tell the truth about the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-gītā, about the Qoran; the Hadith, and the Sunna, about the Zend Avesta and the

Saddar, about the Yü-kung, the Shu-king and the Shi-king, etc.,—in fact about every sacred book, that has served as a brake on the progress of humanity, or has become a fruitful source of superstitious meanmindedness, or else has turned into a veritable ocean of misery and bloodshed." In most of the religions, including the Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek, Roman, and Celtic religions, Judaism,[1] Christianity,[2] Islam, Hinduism, etc., God is represented as a War-Lord. And yet, their respective followers enthuse over the noble and spiritual aspect of their religion, and seldom anybody but a frankly arrogant imperialist like Napoleon (or his Nazi follower) has the courage to confess the interdependence of autocracy and religion:—"Religion associates with heaven an idea of equality, which prevents the poor from massacring the rich. Religion has the same sort of value as vaccination. It gratifies our taste for the miraculous....Society cannot exist without inequality of property; but this latter cannot exist without religion. One who is dying of hunger when the man next to him is feasting on dainties can only be sustained by a belief in a higher power, and by the conviction that in another world there will be a different distribution of goods."[3] "Should the heavens fall down on us, we shall hold them off with the points of our lances."[4]

Almost every Indian patriot has been eloquent over the spiritual excellence of our ancient legacy. Indeed, as Mr. M. N. Roy points out, the materialism of the western civilisation and the spiritualism of the eastern culture have become "the favourite shibboleths of the Indian nationalist ideology. While harping on this theme *ad nauseam*, none takes the pain of proving the contention. It is regarded simply as an axiomatic truth, which becomes all the more categorical, the more it is asserted dogmatically, and proclaimed loudly."[5] He then proceeds to prove that "what is claimed to be the "special genius" of Indian culture, is not special at all; that spiritualism, that is, the religious form of thought characterises human ideology everywhere in a certain stage of social evolution",[6] and that "Practically in all the lands of ancient civilisation—Egypt, Assyria, India, Persia, Rome,—the sacerdotal monopoly of spiritual life prevented the quest for natural knowledge."[7] With his wonderful penetration and acuteness of mind, that eminent author has also shown that for the most part the "Hindu philosophy is, strictly speaking, theology".[1] It is only sought to prove here that there is hardly anything original in the whole gamut of Hindu theology, and, therefore, in the spiritual speciality of our race. Almost all our gods and goddesses are found in the religions of those, whom we have not been slow to recognize as barbarians, Anāryas or Mlechchhas. We have often denounced those very customs and usages among the jungle tribes, which we find in the books we revere. Fruitless has, indeed, been Roy's admonition like a cry in the wilderness :—" See your picture in others ; hear your voice echoed by others, and you will know yourself.''[2] And his book, *Materialism*, which deserves to be a text-book of philosophy in all Indian Universities, has been left uncared for, in favour of many uncritical and pseudo-scientific books on philosophy.

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[1] ERE. XII. 691 f.

[2] J. E. Remsburg, *The Bible* (New York, 1903), p. 356 f.; 336.; etc. Witness the interesting results of this belief quoted in that brilliant book, as well as in Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (1939), p. 228 f.; 446; etc.

[3] J. Nehru, l. c., p. 391.

[4] Ibid.

[5] *Materialism*, p. 7.

[6] Ibid. p. 7-8

[7] Ibid. p. 39-40.

But somebody must come out from academic circle to tell the truth and shame the devil. I have tried to do my little bit in the field of religion, and added to the proof he has brought forth in support of his contention that all talk of spiritualism is only a relic of primitive irrationalism. But there is a crying need for a student of philosophy, belonging to some University, who will try to modify the utterances of that most eloquent class of preachers, which (often without an adequate knowledge of Sanskrit texts) goes on incessantly telling the world of the glories of ancient philosophies of India. For such an attempt, a deep knowledge of the philosophies of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine, Greece, etc.,—so far as they can be studied from the literary and monumental evidence at our disposal,—is a desideratum.

When this thesis was near completion, I read an English synopsis[3] of a French translation of a lecture, said to have been delivered by Prof. Hrozny in the Czech language after the conquest of his country by Herr Hitler. Prof. Hrozny is already known to the learned world as the decipherer of the Hittite script. But the author of that synopsis spoke there of his latest discoveries as a 'miracle of Czech science', for it concerned no less a difficult problem than the decipherment of the script of Mohenjodaro. Hrozny has declared that the language of the authors of the Indus valley civilisation was Hittite. I find in this a corroboration of my belief, that they used a language akin to, though not probably identical with, the Vedic Sanskrit. The evidence in support of my belief,—that, briefly, the light-coloured, brachy-cephalic

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[1] Ibid. p. 48. [2] Ibid. p. 22. [3] I. H. Q., Dec. 1940, XVI. 683 f.

Armenoid element, which may have, perhaps, originated in Anatolia,[1] which was represented by the Sumerians of the Uruk period, the Hittites, the Phrygians (?), together with their branch the Armenians,[2] and which is still found "in Armenia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Southern Arabia",[3] which has its congeners among the Alpinic Tadjiks and the Galchas, and the Alpines in general, migrated towards the Indus valley, intermixed with an *overwhelming* element of the dolicho-cephalic, brunet, Ibero-Dravidians or Mediterraneans, these latter overflowing all the regions to their south, east, and south-east,—is given in the following pages. But when I spoke approvingly of Prof. Hrozny's discovery to an esteemed friend of mine, he merely observed :—"Yes, and so many others have also deciphered the Mohenjo-daro script !" I felt almost mortified at the sceptic sarcasm of this remark, but it was not long after, that I chanced upon the following passage :— "Before the war (of 1914) no one would have thought of connecting them (=the Hittites) with Aryans. Yet this was precisely the result to which the decipherment of the first substantial body of Hittite texts written in an intelligible script (cuneiform) led Professor Hrozny. Rumours of his discoveries leapt political frontiers and even amid the din of battle aroused lively controversy. His conclusions were at first received with scepticism and it now appears that the solution of the problem is by no means so simple as he thought."[4] And yet it is recognized on all hands that he has correctly deciphered the Hittite tablets of Boghaz Keui, and that these Cappadocian Hittites certainly belonged to the so-called Aryan or Indo-European race. I am afraid, this time also, and, with a remarkable coincidence of like circumstances, Prof. Hrozny will, in the main, prove correct.

There exists besides the (now) well-known cuneiform inscriptions another less intelligible group in the hieroglyphics, also definitely assignable to the Hittites. As late as 1929, Hrozny admitted his failure in deciphering it, but thereafter, after an intensive study he claims some success :—"The hieroglyphic, Hittite, we have succeeded in deciphering in these last years, and in establishing that with these hieroglyphics another Hittite language was written, different from the cuneiform Hittite deciphered by us during the first world war. These two Hittite languages are both of Indo-European origin, but different from one another."[1] This discovery of the Hittite hieroglyphics led him to "his last and most striking discovery, the interpretation of the Indus Seals". His opinion may best be expressed in his own words :—"On the whole it may be said that the Proto-Hindu writing is in part derived from the hieroglyphic Hittite writing ; but on the way the hieroglyphic Hittite signs have been modified, and that notably. A great number of hieroglyphic Hittite signs are lacking in the Proto-Hindu writings."[2] The conclusion that he ultimately draws is :—"These inscriptions show that the Proto-Hindu population of the Indus basin was very mixed, that it included the following elements : first, the hieroglyphic Hittites, next a non-Indo-European element, Subaraean[3] or Khurrish, and finally, perhaps, also Cassites[4] or Elamites....The dominant stratum of this mixed population was composed as our inscriptions show—of the Indo-European conquerors, the hieroglyphic Hittites."[5]

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[1] H. J. Fleure, *The Races of Mankind*, p. 19-20, 45-46, 68-70.

[2] Ibid. Infra, p. 19, 23, etc.; Childe, p. 267.

[3] *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 442. The so-called Aryan, a term to be restricted to the Indo-Iranians only, in the light of our present knowledge, was, no doubt, more of a Mediterranean than an Armenoid and was not racially much different from an average Semite in the neighbouring regions.

[4] Childe, p. 21 ; read esp., E. B., XI. 602, ii.

This thesis was submitted a year ago for the Ph.D. of the University of Calcutta. I have just now learnt that it has undeservedly received the covetted crown of martyrdom at the hands of its examiners, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Dr. R. C. Mujumdar, the then occupant of the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Dacca, and the late, revered Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar, whose sudden demise is as shocking as it is painful to all true lovers of ancient Indian literature. My book may be said to bristle with quotations, and naturally it could not come up to the standard, which the learned South Indian Sastri sets up in the following lines :—" It is a common experience that it is only the untrained beginner that hugs his authorities close, and fails to depart from them even by a palm's breadth, and wants to encumber his thesis with any number of footnotes and references to the sources. This is because he has not yet had enough practice in using his imagination to get behind the sources and seek and expound the underlying situations reflected in them. But the more trained the student becomes, the greater becomes his tendency to set himself free from the limitations of his sources.........he indulges in an act of creative imagination.........he appreciates the value of the sources more intimately, and therefore imagines with reference to them in a manner that seems to be almost independent of the sources....... And an actual historical construction is an act imagination, which is, if not altogether, at least very largely independent of the authorities."[1]

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[1] I. H. Q., Dec. 1940, XVI. 684–5.
[2] Ibid. p. 685.
[3] Infra, p. 220.
[4] Ibid. p. 236.
[5] I. H. Q., Dec. 1940, p. 687.

And he adds a parallel: So it is in literary criticism also. For,—I defend him—is not history a science of criticism? In such a predicament, I can only hope to seek shelter behind another noteworthy dictum of this learned professor:—"The principles of interpretation.........change from generation to generation."[2] But to a man, who criticises Dr. J. B. Bury's view of history as a science, without trying to understand it,[3] one can at best recommend Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw's illuminating observations in *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 774f. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has cudgelled Prof. Harold Laski for having forgotten, in two of his books, Sastri's view "that in an historical argument, what matters is the contemporary man's view of the course of events, not ours."[4]

If examiners are to be real judges, they should not influence each other. I am authoritatively informed by the Controller of Examinations of the Calcutta University that the examiners submitted a "joint report". In such a case, the will of the strongest is bound to prevail; but I have no desire whatever to suggest that this unanimous decision is *ultra vires*. Only, I may point out the possibility of some weak-willed examiner being made a human scape-goat.

The writer is perfectly aware of the opposition this thesis may meet. Already a certain Mahāmahopādhyāya has privately given his verdict about it that this thesis leads us nowhere. A suggestion here or a hint there does require further proof or elucidation. But that is no justification for the total rejection of a work of this nature. The author himself is aware that he has not done justice to his theme, for to do so means that he should convert each single chapter into a separate book; but this is an impossibility for the present not only on account of other preoccupations, but, and mainly, on account of the lack of adequate equipment in war times.[5]

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[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Historical Method in Relation to Problems of South Indian History*, p. 3–4.

[2] Ibid. p. 6. [3] Ibid. p. 10. [4] Ibid.

[5] As my friend Mr. S. N. Roy points out, there is already a whole book, 'Flamen—Brahman', (G. Dumèzil) on an appendix in this book.

The conception that 'East is East and West is West' is so deep-rooted in our mind, that we refuse to face the fact of a common origin, and nearly all attempts, seeking to establish such an origin have been scoffed at by those who secretly cherish a pride in their level-headedness. Even Elliot Smith has to complain of such jeering complacency.[1] M. C. F. Dupuis (1742–1809) seeking a common substratum for all religions in his *Origines de tous les Cultes ou Religion Universelle* (1794), with all the disadvantages of a pioneer, could easily be neglected, and his attempt of reducing "everything, even the person of Christ to solar myth"[2] could be characterised as a rash generalisation. But then, if the truth is partially misunderstood on account of a pioneer's exuberance of fancy, that is no reason why it should be totally disregarded. Besides the life of Christ is now acknowledged on all hands to be largely a fabrication based on solar myth. Another attempt on the same lines to show that all ancient divinities are originally connected with the sun, or are to be derived from him, is contained in M. Charles Autran's *Mithra, Zoroastre et la prêhistoire Aryenne du Christanisme* (Paris, 1935), against which also, some harsh criticism was the answer of a hard-headed critic.[3] About Mithraism, M. Autran concluded:—"Bref, l'on constate, dès l'Asie Mineure, où le Mithriacisme était depuis longtemps pratiqué et d'où il a rayonné jusque dans l'Occident romain , *une union intime entre les mystères de Mithra et ceux de la Grande Mère*."[4] He points out that Herodotus informs us "en effet, que *Mitra* est le nom qu'ils donnent *à la grande Déesse-Mère* qui, sous le nom d'Alilat chez les Arabes, d'Aphrodite ches des Hellènes, de Mylitta chez les Assyriens, préside à la fécondité universelle.'"[5] He produces not a little evidence to show that "Comme le *Grand Dieu* d'asie avec Cybèle, Cybèbe, Rhéa, ou Mâ, ou même avec Héra dans Homère, le Mithra asiano-méditerranéen forme avec Anâhita un couple aussi etroitement solidaire que le dieu de lazili Kaya avec sa parèdre. De même Mithra avec Cybèle ou la *Magna mater* sur les monuments de l'empirc gréco-romain."[6] He draws attention to the wide prevalence of the cult in the Levant, Iraq,[7] Iran, India, etc., connecting *Śiva Trinetra* with *Zeus Triopas*,[8] Tramila or Tremila with Dramilas, etc. His quotation from G. Maspero is worth quoting in full, in spite of its being against our general hypothesis about the trend of the migration of civilisation:–"En fait,...*Phoenix* (c'est-à-dire *Phoen-ik-s*) est une forme élargie de *Pwjn-t*, d'ou *Pœn-i*, *Pûn-i* vieux nom 'national' que les *Phoinikes* devaient à leur patrie première et qui les suivit à travers leurs migrations. Or, il se trouve que ce sont precisément ces échelles de l'Océan indien-Mer Rouge que les monuments égyptiens les plus anciens dénommaient la 'région des *Pwjn-tjw*', c'est-à-dire des *Pœni*, *Phoinikes*. Les Phéniciens 'du golfe persique transférèrent le nom de Phénicie en Syrie, les Phéniciens de Syrie le menèrent en Afrique, etc."[1] He them shows how Kāla and Kālī (Kumāra and Kumārī) find their counterparts in the west and opines that Kāla is only "forme de Dieu-Noir" of Śiva-Mithra.[2] "Toujours est-il que les mystères de Mithra nous ont montré le culte d'un grand dieu qui est à la fois l'Époux et le Fils d'une Mère Vierge et Immaculée".[3] Many others of his observations are interesting, but I have quoted of him more than was, perhaps, necessary, and space forbids any more.

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[1] *The Migrations of Early Culture*, p. 4.

[2] Rev. C. C. Martindale, *The Religions of the World*, p. 8.

[3] Infra, p. 100. [4] Op. cit., p. 47. [5] Ibid. p. 48.

[6] Ibid. p. 49. [7] Ibid. Ch., II.

[8] This suggestion seems to have been originally given to Sir John Marshall by no less an authority than Dr. A. B. Cook; cf. *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, I. p. 53.

Another attempt seeking to establish the common origin of all ancient religious civilisations is witnessed in the pages of W. J. Perry's magnum opus, *The Children of the Sun*, (Lond. 1923). According to him, the origin of the heliolithic culture is "to be sought in Egypt : for ... the assemblage of the elements of that culture could be watched there and nowhere else. It is in the sixth Dynasty, the culminating point of the Pyramid Age, that this process seems to have been complete. The reason for its spread was ... the search for various substances, principally those prized for their assumed life-giving properties ; for the settlements of the archaic civilization are situated near sources of the very materials that the Egyptians themselves took so much trouble to seek in neighbouring countries."[4] It is not intended here to judge how far Perry's explanation of the migration of that archaic civilization is correct. Nevertheless the fact of the migration remains. He clearly states that "no evidence whatever exists for believing in an independent development of culture in any of the countries from India to America";[5] that the king was identified with the chief divinity in each country[6] (e.g. with Osiris-Horus in Egypt,

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[1] l. c., p. 70–71. [2] Ibid. ch. III. [3] Ibid. ch. VI, p. 134.

[4] Op. cit., p. 3. [5] Ibid. p. 102, et seq.

[6] Ibid. p. 129 ; cf. E. B., XI. 364 ; infra, p. 164 ; *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 99 :—" The king was a *Son of the Sun*, an incarnate god, and he was the priest of the cult of the sun-god ".

Tammuz in Sumer, and so forth); that the latter at times appeared as the god of " vegetation and water and fertility",[1] but was, in truth, no more than a sun-god ; " that the agriculture of the people of the archaic civilization was accompanied by human sacrifice, and that, associated with this practice of offering victims, was the Great Mother-goddess, the earliest deity known to man."[2] He devotes three complete chapters to the elucidation of this cult,[3] and throws out an important suggestion :—" The Ādityas and their mother Aditi recall the Egyptian and Sumerian gods with their goddesses."[4] Previous to this, he shows that in Egypt all the gods merge into (or emanate from) Osiris and all the goddesses into Isis,[5] and for Mesopotamia he quotes the eminent authority of Langdon, who has likewise shown that all the Babylonian and Assyrian gods are " solar manifestations of Tammuz ", and that all goddesses there, are identical with Ishtar. No doubt, for an intelligent appreciation of this Goddess cult, a careful study of Langdon's books, especially his *Tammuz and Ishtar* (1924), and *Semitic Mythology*, is necessary ; for unintelligent or uninformed criticism is very cheap, indeed !

Critics of this theory of common origin were in reality bewildered by the ramifications of the cult of the Mother Goddess and the Father God. And visualising in the apparent multiplicity of divinities of all ancient religions the colourless polytheism, and ignoring that brilliant, myriad-faced henotheism,—or rather the henotheistic garb of monotheism,—they failed to appreciate the part that the primitive rationalism played in the theistic conceptions of our ignorant ancestors. This was due no less to the lack of sympathetic study of the idolatrous worship than to the peculiar way of the so-called *Henotheism* itself. It is very easy, for instance, not only for a foreigner, but for an average Muslim fellow countryman to miss Hinduism for a polytheistic religion. The form of worship, instanced by the Egyptian religion in the ancient world and Hinduism in the modern, is not mere 'monolatry',[1] but 'monotheism' with a certain modification; for the term 'monolatry' implies the recognition of a plurality of gods, which, when explicitly done, tantamounts to polytheism. The true significance of this basic religion termed *henotheism* or *kathenotheism* seems to have been missed by the original coiner of those words, Prof. F. Max Müller, who, while recognizing that it was "at the basis of all religion," refuses to conceive of it as more than "a crude or vague faith in the divine, not yet articulated either into polytheism or into monotheism".[2] And when he defines this creed as "the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest", one feels as if its whole purpose is missed. The same divinity may be regarded as assuming different forms in the different aspects of Nature, and still one form may be regarded at one time as towering over the rest, though one may not forget their original identity. We are by no means averse to the use of that convenient term *henotheism*, but, we doubt if Max Müller's description of it is correct. We are rather inclined to agree with E. von Hartmann so far as he regards it as the "original nature-religion" recognizing the 'identity of essence of all the gods',[3] or rather the identity of all the names under which God can be worshipped.

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[1] Op. cit. p. 131.
[2] Ibid. p. 215.
[3] Chs. XV, XVI, and XVII.
[4] Ibid. p. 224.
[5] Ibid. 220 f. In *The Origin of Magic and Religion*, he urges that the primitive men, very much exposed to the forces of Nature, evolved a system of thought concerning the fundamental facts of life and death, his relation to the earth, and the universe in general, step by step and in a most natural way. As M. N. Roy says :—" The primitive man ... lives too close to the Mother to deny her existence." (Op. cit., p. 90). " No religion is born in a day revealed to a particular prophet," (Ib. 82.) and " religion is but a naive form of nascent science ". (Ib. 90).

A vast number of magico-religious beliefs, that surround these 'gods', are found to be common to races that are very widely separated and to give birth to common or allied symbols. Agreeing with Polybius that symbols were connected with gods and myths, Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie urges in the *Migration of Symbols* that the symbol-problem has to be studied as a whole in its 'chronological' (i. e., historical) relation, and that the rival theory of 'psychic unity', propped up to explain the "origin of similar groups of complexes in different parts of the world", really assumes what is to be proved.[4] Like Cherry, Perry, Smith, and others, he also emphasises the part that agriculture played in making Egypt the 'cradle' of ancient civilization,[5] and shows that the chief means of its dissemination over such a wide area, viz. the ship, was also invented there:[1] The earliest boats developed from the reed-floats in the Nile. "If the modern view is accepted that these ancient agriculturists of the goddess cult were of common racial origin, it is to the most representative communities of the widespread Mediterranean race that the credit belongs of laying the foundations of the brilliant civilizations of the ancient world in southern Europe, and Egypt, and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates."[2] He discusses the goddess cult in great details in a number of books,[3] and shows that the "dogma of independent origin is put to a severe test" by many recent researches.[4] He too recognizes the solar forms of different divinities, but he recognizes many other aspects as well. It appears to me that in the whole race of mythologists nobody has grasped the almost evanescent essence of mythological lore more thoroughly than he has.

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[1] ERE. VIII. 810. i. [2] Ibid. ii. [3] Ibid.

[4] Preface. Psychologists admit that men do not act or think alike under like conditions. Experiments performed regarding the reactions of different persons to the same object or incident have given quite queer and diverse results. The greatest argument against the theory of psychic unity lies in the utter disregard of the historical evidence, that is daily accumulating, linking one culture with another. There are many a missing link, no doubt, in this train of cultures; but then, in historical arguments we do not deal with absolute certainties.

[5] *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, Intro. and Ch. III; *Ancient Civilisations*, (1927) Intro., ix-xi; 3-9, 12-18, 122-23; Cherry, *The Discovery of Agriculture*;

I have briefly indicated above how various investigators in the field of mythology have converged upon the same idea that all the gods, that are found in the congeries of the early religious civilizations, termed by G. Elliot Smith as the 'heliolithic culture-complex', are to be originally connected with the sun, or have solar aspects, or, as some have dogmatically asserted, are to be derived from him. Long ago, Frazer has observed that the credit of being "the father of that large family of mythologists who resolve all or most gods into the sun"[5] belongs to that Roman philosopher

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(1921); Perry, *The Growth of Civilisation*, Ch. III. This theory has fortunately won some notable adherents, e. g. J. H. Breasted, *The Origins of Civilisation*, (The Scientific Monthly, 1919-20), V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 2, 5, 50 f. Also read :—" 'God Almightie first planted a garden' is the general belief, God being represented by Osiris in Egypt, King Kintu in Uganda, Sidi or Soidi in Torres Strait, Ofanu in Tahiti, Tupan in Brazil, and by all the other local culture-heroes who brought the good gifts to men".—E. B. I. p. 424. Plutarch held that 'King Osiris first civilized his countrymen in the Nile valley and "afterwards travelled over the rest of the world, inducing people everywhere to submit to his discipline" '.—*Ancient Civilizations*, p. 9.

[1] *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 35; *Ancient Civilization*, Intro., xiii; Ch. I, p. 20-27; G. Elliot Smith, *Ships as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture*.

[2] *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, Preface. p. xi.

[3] Read especially *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, Intro., p. xxxvi f.; Chs. I, II, VIII, XIV, XXIV, etc.; *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, Intro., p. xxxiii f.; Chs. V, VII, etc.; *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, Intro., p. xliv f., Chs. III, VIII, XIII, etc.; *Myths of China and Japan*, Chs. X, XI, XIII, XIV, etc.; *Teutonic Myth and Legend*, Chs. V, VI, VIII, IX etc.

[4] *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, Preface iii.

[5] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 352.

Macrobius (c. 375–440 ?), the author of *Saturnalia.* Frazer's observation clearly indicates that already before his time (i. e. mostly besides the authorities named by us), there were a good many mythologists who had realised that most of the divinities are connected with the sun. Frazer himself ridiculed this idea with regard to Osiris, throwing overboard a good many ancient authorities, quoted by him ; and he found in Osiris only a corn-god, forgetting the fact that the sun could very appropriately be a corn-god, and that actually in many tribes, ancient as well as modern, he is invoked to nourish the corn-fields.[1]

A summary sketch of the results of investigations of numerous writers, engaged in collecting "the most varied kinds of data", all leading to one and the same inevitable conclusion about the trend of migration of the early civilization, is given by that champion of diffusionism,[2] G. Elliot Smith, who says :—"If a map of the the world is taken and one plots out the geographical distribution of such remarkable customs as the building of megalithic monuments, the worship of the sun and the serpent, the custom of piercing the ears, tatooing, the practice of circumcision, the curious custom known as couvade, the practice of massage, the complex story of creation, the deluge, the petrification of human beings, the divine origin of kings and a chosen people sprung from an incestuous union, the use of the swastika-symbol, the practice of cranial deformation, to mention only a few of the many that might be enumerated, it will be found that in most respects the areas, in which this extraordinary assortment of bizarre customs and beliefs is found, coincide one with the other. In some of the series gaps occur, which probably are more often due to the lack of information on our part than to real absence of the practice ; in other places one or other of the elements of this complex culture-mixture has over-flowed the common channel and broken into new territory. But considered in conjunction, these data enable us definitely and precisely to map out the route taken by this peculiarly distinctive group of eccentricities of the human mind. If each of them is considered alone there are many breaks in the chain and many uncertainties as to the precise course ; but when taken together all of these groups are bridged."[1] Out of all these diverse customs, practices and traditions, going under the name of 'helio-lithic culture-complex,' Smith singles out, in *The Migrations of Early Culture*, the practice of mummification[2] and argues quite convincingly that it is "something more than a mere coincidence that in Egypt, where the operation of natural forces leads to the preservation of the corpse when buried in the hot dry sand, it should have become a cardinal tenet in the beliefs of the people to strive after the preservatiou of the body as the essential means of continuing an existence after death."[3]

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[1] Infra, p. 135–37, 150–52, etc., cf. 178.

[2] The history of the theory of diffusion may be summed up by the following quotations :—" Since the time of Spencer, Tylor, and Frazer, the resemblance of cultural traits in different cultural complexes have become commonplaces in ethnology. The orthodox evolutionist correlated these similarities with parallel series of developments rooted ultimately in the psychic unity of man. The results of historical and ethnological research proved fatal to this conception."—A Goldenweiser, *History, Psychology and Culture* (1933), p. 50. " First vigorously propounded by Ratzel as the main problem of ethnology, the study of distribution and diffusion (of primitive culture) has been followed up by Frobenius, Ankermann, Graebner, Pater W. Schmidt, Pater Koppers and subsequently Dr. Rivers."—E. B., XX, 863, i. " The evidence collected by Humboldt d'Eichthal, Tylor, and many others, established the fact that early civilization of America, its pyramids, ... are thoroughly Indian, or rather Indo-Chinese in motive and feeling ".—G. Elliot Smith, *The Diffusion of Culture* (1933), p. 139.

There is thus no end to questions that demand our attention, once we accede to the hypothesis of common origin. Misapprehensions as well as misrepresentations play no small part in the criticism of this theory. The critic speaks from the vantage ground of our ignorance about the historical links that are missing, and asks of us something approaching of a perfection, but this demand for perfection arises out of a misunderstanding of the ends of historical studies. The 'historical hypothesis' of Frobenius, Schmidt, Rivers, Smith, etc. has been dubbed as 'a lifeless and inorganic view of culture', which treats religious culture of ancient times "as a thing which can be preserved in cold storage for centuries."[4] But authoritarianism is implied by the very word 'faith', so that no faithful follower of any religion can tolerate inventions in that field. And constant reference to the past as a vindication of their present action or opinion is only an indication of the conservative nature, if not of the intellectual bankruptcy, of the 'faithful few.' This by no means signifies that the diffusionists hold all religious thought to be immutable. All that is contended is (to use the words of Perry):—"No fresh advance is made except on the foundations laid by those who have gone before ; the inventor is only the last link in a chain of inquirers."[1] Orthodoxy is so ingrained in human character that Prof. A Wolf has, for instance, been led to remark that "Indeed, to the student of the history of human thought one of the most surprising things is the persistence throughout the ages of the same stock of fundamental ideas, which are often modified and refined in many ways but are never abandoned entirely."[2] And this is all the more apparent in the sacred sphere :—"Throughout all cosmogony run certain basal principles...cosmogonic myths, almost without exception, seek to explain the creation of the world from the fewest possible elements".[3]

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[1] *The Migrations of Early Culture*, p. 1–3.

[2] Ibid. p. 45 f., 50 f., 56–65., 88 f., 100 f., 106 f.. 112–18., etc. The various beliefs and practices that surrounded it have been dealt with by W. J. Perry in *The Origin of Magic and Religion*.

[3] Op. cit., p. 32 f.

[4] E. B., XX. 863, ii.

To explain by an example, one of the most important of such elements is *water*, which is recognized in most of the religions of ancient times as being identical with the Earth. Thus, if an Atharva-vedic hymn would refer to 'this our Earth,.........which in the beginning was water in the sea,'[4] a Babylonian tablet giving an account of Creation would say : "All the earth was sea"[5] (in the beginning), or another would aver : "The whole of the lands were sea".[6]

In consideration of the merits of the thesis, therefore, it is impossible to ignore this important aspect,—this Irā-Sarasvatī aspect of Agdistis-Rhea-Ops or Aditi-Revatī-Āpas,[7]—just as it is impossible to overlook the equation of Kṛishṇa with Zeus suggested on p. 161f. The abysmal waters of creation were known to the Babylonians as Tiamtu, Tiamat, or Tiawath, 'the mother of gods' and 'the mother of all', for, indeed, this was only an epithet of Nina, also known as Geshtinanna, 'the queen of waters'. Doubtless, Nina is Ishtar, ruling "over springs and mountains and seas". Without her no life-giving stream opens and none is closed, or 'no canal is opened, no canal is closed, which gives the wide-dwelling peoples to drink'; for she is the same as Kir-gi-lu or Nin-kir-gi-lu, the goddess of rain. As a goddess of the 'holy meal water', Ishtar-Nina is either Innini 'the queen of heaven' or Ashnan (a grain-goddess), and if the grain-goddess Nidaba, also known as Nu-maś-śe-gún-nu, is a water divinity, it is because she is identical, according to Langdon, with the same Nana Numaśśe.[1] As a water divinity her scorpion form Ishara corresponds to the scorpion form of Selhet, the Egyptian water-goddess, who is recognized as an aspect of Isis.[2] This Egyptian "water-spirit or river-goddess" was the mistress of the Lord of abyss or of the Lord of inundation and was the 'creatrix of the Nile flood', and in this last capacity was known as Sati and Sept,—a title borne by the seven Hathors.[3] Our discussion about the seven (sapta) Aps or Sindhus, and the seven Kṛittikās makes this queer fact perfectly intelligible,[4] whereas the suggestions thrown about Nut on p. 83–4, become clearer if we remember that the primeval watery mass, Nut, was only a form of Isis, or Ast, this last appellation certainly reminding us of the Indian Asat. Under another name, Meret or Merti, the Egyptian goddess is depicted with an aquatic plant on her head, while as Mehtwrt, she appears in the pre-dynastic time as combining the ideas of primeval waters, feminine creative energy and the heavenly Hathor. The Babylonian Tiamat or Tiawath is known to the Hebrew Bible as Tehom (Genesis, i.), who is opposed to Jahweh and is supposed to be dreadful. Evidently, the Biblical idea that 'God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament' is just a paraphrase of the Babylonian conception of the sun-god Bel-Marduk, ripping open the body of Tiamat (the dark night at the beginning of creation) and heaving "half of it aloft over the heaven."[5] After pointing out that "Waters are closely connected with darkness," a certain scholar of the Jewish religion observes:—"Abundant other references, early or late, show this to be certainly a wide-spread view of the origin, of the Hebrews and later Jews...The deep itself and the chaos to which the original deep belonged are designated sometimes merely by words expressing the sea, at other times by more technical titles, and the same is true of the monsters of chaos or the deep."[6] This connexion of the first waters with darkness elucidates the facts contained in the following quotation:—"In all the three mythologies (Greek, Celtic and Scandinavian), there is a central Nature myth. In Greek, it is the slaying of Night by Dawn. Hermes, surnamed Argeiphontes in his character as Dawn-god, slays Argus, the many-eyed, who is Night, with a round stone, which is the Sun. In the Celtic (Irish) Mythology, the Dawn-god, Lugh, kills Balor of the Evil-eye, who is Night, with the same round sun-stone.[1] The myth also applies to the slaying of Winter by Summer and of Evil by Good."[2] Again, the conception of waters of creation as the source of evil or the origin of darkness, is not unfamiliar either to the Vedas,[3] or to the Qoran.[4] Revatī (or Āpas) is shown by us to be a goddess of darkness or the dark night,[5] and as giving birth to the Āditya Indra, the killer of Taimāta; and these primeval waters of creation occupy not an unimportant place in the cosmogonical accounts of the Brāhmaṇas,[6] and the Smṛiti-Purāna-Mahābhārata literature also. The later systematised philosophical speculations, e. g. of the Sāṁkhyas, include water in the prime creative elements. Already the Aitareya Āraṇyaka, ii. 4, 1, comes to the conclusion that "in the beginning the Self sent forth the worlds of Ambhas, Marīchi, Mara and Ap. 'That Ambhas (water) is above the heaven, and it is heaven, the support. The Marīchis (the lights) are the sky. The Mara (mortal) is the earth, and the waters under the earth are Ap world."[1]

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[1] *The Growth of Civilization*, p. 142.

[2] *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 4.

[3] ERE. IV. 125, ii.

[4] AV. XII. 1, 8, quoted infra, p. 131.

[5] JRAS. 1891, 393 f.; ERE. IV, 129, i.

[6] ERE. IV, 232, i.

[7] Infra, p. 68, 125, 140 f., etc. The suggestions given in those pages are borne out by the fact Kālidāsa makes Dākshāyaṇī Aditi mother of Indra as also of the twelve suns ; cf. Śākuntala, Act VII, st. 26-27. RV. X, 63. 2 :—'ये स्थ जाता अदितेरद्भ्यस्परि ये पृथिव्यास्ते म इह श्रुता हवम् ।' clearly identifies Aditi with both Āpas and Pṛithivī (contra A. A. Macdonell's suggestion, V. M., p. 14), Read T. B., III, ii. 8. 2 :—'आपो वै रेवतीः ।' Cf. Tāṇḍya B., VII. 9. 20 ; XIII. 9. 16 :—'आपो वै रेवत्यः ।' Ś. B., I. ii. 2. 2 :—'रेवत्य आपः ।' Cf. Ibid I. i. 3. 7 :—'देव्यो ह्यापः ।' Ibid. V. iii. 4. 22 :—'ता वाऽएताः (सारस्वतीरित्यादि-) सप्तदशापः सम्भरति ।' Ibid, III. viii. 1, 12 :—'वाग्वै रेवती ।' Jaim. Up., IV. 27. 3 :—'आपस्सावित्री ।'.

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[1] ERE. XII. 709. ii–710. i.

[2] Ibid. XII. 709. ii.; 712. ii.

[3] ERE. XII. 711. ii. I am not inclined to see in Sati the famous appellation, Satī, of Pārvatī-Ambikā, until I get more proof. Sati was one of the earliest goddesses of the Egyptians, and her title "Lady of the Heavens", she bears in common with Nut and Hathor. Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 115.

[4] See the index.

[5] Martindale. l. c., p. 39.

[6] ERE. IV. 153. ii.

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[1] It is noted below that in all the religious civilizations of the primitive 'helio-lithic' (= sun-stone) type, the sun was worshipped in the form of a *liṅga*. M. Autran's equation of Śiva with Mithra thus becomes explicit.

[2] *Teutonic Myth and Legend*, Intro., p. xxiv.

[3] RV. X. 129. 3, quoted in the Appendix A; cf. T. S., V. vi. 4. 2; VII. i. 5. 1.

[4] ERE. IV. 174. i. To both the Hindu Purāṇas and the Muslim Qoran the idea of the seven heavens one above the other, and the seven hells one beneath the other is common; and so are many other conceptions, which, if gathered together, may frighten the rank communalists out of their breath. The idea of a sensual Paradise as the abode of that black-eyed, voluptuous class of nymphs called Houri, having fadeless youth and eternal beauty. and being assigned to each of the faithful is not dissimilar to the Hindu notion about the immoral Apsarasas. The recognition of alms-giving and fasting as acts of piety, of hajj (or hadj) or yātrā, and kismat or karma, the immortality of the soul and the uncreated nature of their respective sacred texts, the barbarous disrespect of the fair sex in general, are only few of the myriad points, common to both the Muslims and the Hindus. Should I not, in the end, suggest that the original identity of Rāma and Rahīm (who is the same as Rahmān, Ramman, or Rimmon), suggested by the Indian sage Kabīr, whose very name epitomises the perfect amalgamation, if not the unity ef the two prominent and seemingly conflicting cultures in India, is really not a scientific impossibility? We note a good many facts later, which go to support this contention. See *Alāt* and *Arabia* in the index.

[5] Infra, p. 126 f.

[6] Ś. B., XI. i. 6. 1 :—' आपो ह वाऽइदमग्रे सलिलमेवास ।'
Cf. T. S., I. i. 3. 5 :—' आपो वा इदमग्रे सलिलमास ।'
Jaim. Up. I. 56. 1 :—' आपो वा इदमग्रे महत्सलिलमासीत् ।'

The idea of a male water-divinity, Osiris-Hapi-Apep = Ea = Varuṇa = Oceanus, is necessarily connected with that of a female goddess, but that is another problem by itself; and so is the story of the double creation that is frequently met with in various cosmogonical accounts. Among the Greeks, Oceanus and Tethys are borrowed by Homer and Hesiod; still in Hesiod the place of primeval waters is occupied by dark, yawning, unfathomable abyss (chaos), from which is born, or emerges, the broad-bosomed Gaia, 'the ever-sure fountain of all'. According to some ancient authorities, water was the prime substance in the cosmogony of Pherecydes of Syros, who lived at the court of Pisistratus (6th cent. B. C.).[2] About the same time, Thales of Miletus (c. 640–550 B. C.), whose novel doctrines (such as the spherecity of the earth) were heretical enough to condemn him to death, also suggested water to be the primary principle; while Anaximander (c. 610–545) included water along with some other elements among the first *four substances* emanating from the original infinite boundless chaotic object in which they were mixed up together. This idea persists with certain modifications in the cosmogonical theories of Hieronymus, Empedocles, (c. 483–430 B.C.), Aristotle[3] (384–322 B.C.), Hellanicus, Athenagoras, etc., while the original chaos is recognized by Aristophanes, Alexander of Aphrodisias (3rd cent. A.D.), etc.

But before proceeding any further, let us remember what a scientist says: According to Prof. A. Wolf,[4] it is such traditional ideas as 'the "four elements" and "three principles" (*tria prima*) and the "forms" and "occult qualities" which obstructed the path of scientific chemistry.'

Among the Melanesians too, the Mother Goddess was a goddess of water, who 'made all lands'.[5] Again, in North America, most of the aboriginal tribes have cosmic myths, where *water* seems to have played an important part.[1]

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[1] ERE. IV. 157. ii. These waters above the heaven and those under the earth are just the parts of the same Tiamat; cf. also the Biblical passage quoted above.

[2] ERE. IV. 146. ii. [3] *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 7, 11, ete.

[4] Ibid. p. 25. In India, we find the same traditionalism and blind faith in the 'five elements' (of which water is one), operating against the propagation of scientific truth even now.

[5] Mackenzie, *Myths from Melanesia and Indonesia*, p. 150–51.

Here an appeal to the thinking public. Such points of similarity are almost infinite, and they can be put to any purpose one wishes to use them. Thus a religious propagandist like Collum, after noting a good many similarities between various religions of ancient civilisations is free to damn modern scientific thought and regard his book as a challenge to "modern civilization with its...communistic theories",[2] and ask people to return to the primitive way of life of our wise ancestors, while he himself would take all advantages of the modern inventions, such as the printing press, etc. But how long are we going to beguile ourselves by this insipid cry of ancestral wisdom, when the whole history stands against it? How can we go back to the 'Golden Age', which never existed? Why do we love that fool's paradise more than this wonderful world? O obstinacy, thy name is man! O ignorance, thy name is religion! O superstition, thy name is worship!

In the end comes the pleasant duty of tendering my heartfelt thanks to the learned proprietor of the 'Samarth Bharat Press', Mr. S. R. Sardesai, B.A., LL.B., without whose sympathetic co-operation in getting this work accurately printed, it would have been but a mass of mistakes. I am also deeply indebted to his staff, towards whom I had been guilty (I now realise) of submitting my work in a very inaccurate form. Like most authors, I had not taken sufficient pains in preparing the manuscript for the press; but this means a lot of trouble to the compositors, a fact which dawned on me too late. I have already owned all the mistakes in this book as my own, and I request the reader not to blame the Printer's Devil, but to correct them from the Corrigenda, before beginning to read the text.

I should not publicly express my gratitude to my parents, but I know how much I owe to both of them. This book is dedicated to them merely as a mark of that gratitude.

Many elderly scholars of my acquaintance have secretly lamented to me that I did not consult them before printing this work. But, since all of them hold that my theories are all fantastic or that this book adds nothing to our knowledge, it is beneath their dignity (I feel) to go through its pages, for correcting the mistakes. What is the necessity of condescending to correct 250 pages of a useless work? This justifies my step of not allowing anybody to become an unofficial censor of my book, and I thank my stars that I have not to thank anybody else for helping me to write this book. I declare, I have a right to speak the truth. If my private examiners do not appreciate this, I cannot help it.

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[1] ERE. IV. 127-8.

[2] Collum, *Manifold Unity*.

CORRIGENDA

Page	*Line, from*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
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17	5, bottom	the Egypt	Egypt
18	13, top	unwilling	unwilling to
21	1, bottom	*Gegraphy*	*Geography*
23	5, top	Perrizzites	Perizzites
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24	19, bottom	brachicephals,	brachycephals,
,,	4, ,,	Dr. Ghurye shows	As Dr. Ghurye shows
31	19, ,,	therefore was	therefore were
33	14, top	cupid	Cupid
35	10, ,,	Mycia	Mysia
37	15, bottom	calenders	calendars
38	17, ,,	sre	are
41	8, ,,	Herodotuss	Herodotus,
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39	8, top	literrture.	literature.
45	12, ,,	cenceive	conceive
,,	21, ,,	*Dyāvā-Pṛthivī*	*Dyāvā-Pṛithivī*
46	9, ,,	per excellence	*par excellence*
,,	22, ,,	Daksh-Prajāpati	Daksha-Prajāpati
47	10, bottom	ब्रह्माणि	ब्रह्माणी
49	8, ,,	JBBRAS. p.	JBBRAS. X. p.
50	16, top	*sak*	*Śak*
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53	22–21, bot.	identificrtion	identification
56	13, bottom	Trance	Thrace
59	20, top	illustrates	illustrate
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,,	14, bottom	Saythian	Scythian,
61	13, ,,	पुरुषुस्थः ।	पुरुषु स्थः ।
62	3, top	Babyloia	Babylonia

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64	2, bottom	Edward	Edwards
67	18, ,,	Nishada	Nishadha
69	8–9, top	mounain	mountain
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70	6, ,,	may	may be
71	15, bottom	Salene	Selene
74	12, ,,	worshipped	were worshipped
76	4, ,,	Egyption	Egyptian
77	8, top	pradakshiṇas	pradakshiṇās
,,	14, ,,	Āśāpūrnā	Āśāpūrṇā
79	,, ,,	Vanaspatī	Vanaspati
81	22, ,,	shall	will
82	17, bottom	V. 18. 6	V. 83. 6.
84	13, ,,	धनुष्याणेर्यातं	धनुष्पाणेर्यातं
86	22, top	is identical	as identical
90	8, ,,	on	or
93	13, bottom	विहङ्गग	विहङ्ग
95	21, ,,	Mātur-dīdhishu	Mātur-didhishu
96	19, top	Incidentlly	Incidentally
,,	4, bottom	Equation	equation
,,	3, ,,	Egyption	Egyptian
98	17, top	Anhurr	Anhur
,,	7, bottom	Ariyah	Aryiah
100	21, ,,	Veñkaṭeśvar	Veṅkaṭeśvar
,,	4, ,,	Mahārāshṛra	Mahārāshṭra
102	8, top	Adityā	Ādityā
106	10, ,,	consiting	consisting
,,	2, bottom	Wooly	Woolley
109	13, ,,	inscription,	inscriptions,
110	16, top	Incindentally	Incidentally
,,	6, bottom	Mote	Note
116	13, ,,	Nirṛiti	Nirṛiti
117	9, top	Śaktism	Śāktism
118	17, ,,	Fleiades	Pleiades
120	5, ,,	'bull'	a 'bull'
,,	15, bottom	उषस्सा°	उषसा°
121	15, top	Appollo	Apollo
124	12, ,,	worsipped	worshipped

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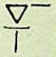
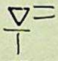
125	6, ,,	*Indigimenta*	*Indigitamenta*
,,	21, ,,	stronomy	astronomy
,,	16, bottom	851 ; For	851; ERE. II. 34. ii. For
,,	6, ,,	वावरेयात्	वा वरेयात्
132	17, bottom	Śumbhu-Rudra	Śambhu-Rudra
,,	5, ,,	means	mean
135	10, ,,	*Cosmologie*	*Kosmologie*
140	6, ,,	brith	birth
144	26, top	Scandinevia	Scandinavia
145	9, ,,	Tyambaka	Tryambaka
,,	12, ,,	named	said to be
154	13, bottom	तस्कर ।:	तस्करः ।
159	21, top	Aṅgirasa	Āṅgirasa
189	7, ,,	performed.[5]	performed.
207	16, bottom	यदेदं	ययेदं
213	3, top		
234	22 & 23 top	Hronzy	Hrozny
234	30, top	Mangoloid	Mongoloid
249	5, ,,	Zeust	Zeus.
,,	6, ,,	firs,	first
256	11, bottom	*Maitrāyani*	*Maitrāyaṇī*
257	17, ,,	*Taittirīyā*	*Taittirīya*
,,	8, ,,	Wooley	Woolley
261	2, ,,	,,	,,

POST-SCRIPT

I must confide to a sympathetic reader that this thesis, which has got not a very covetable reception even before its birth, leaves, no doubt, much to be desired ; but mainly, some portions of it have to be re-arranged. In my defence, I can only say that circumstances compelled me to submit this work to the press rather much earlier than could be wished for. Beyond this, I should not say. And after all that is said and done, it would be ungrateful on my part, if I do not express my deep obligations to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, for many of the following corrections that I am able to make from the copy of the thesis, which was submitted to him and which has just reached my hands.

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
5	5 (below)	brought forth	brought
11	5	article	thesis
12	13	civilisation	the ancient agricultural civilisation
80 162 206	15 7 13	offsprings	offspring
105	15	incindentally	incidentally
114	12	codstellation	constellation
119	27	perpectually	perpetually
136	10	Atharvedic	Atharva-vedic
136	15	grounds	ground
142	22	Destnies	Destinies
154	10 (below)	Here	Her
221	18	practiced	practised
235	8	on philological	on some far-fetched philological

CHAPTER I

Introduction

"O ALL GOOD MOTHER ! I bow to Thee,
Who, sweet in the joyous play of the music of the flute, art
The beloved of Rādhikā ;
Who appeareth as a sun illuminating the three worlds with
Thy effulgent rays ;
Who destroyeth the body of Kāma in the right half of
Thine own eternal Self ;
Who art in joyous play Heramba the son, resting on the lap of
Thine own self as Ambikā the Mother ;
Who art the field of play for the desires of Mahā-kāla ; and
Who giveth birth to the three worlds."[1]

The diverse symbols, that appear on ancient Indian coins and seals, have afforded an ample field for speculation to the numismatic world ; but to this day many of these symbols have consistently refused to yield any meaning whatever, and have baffled the ingenuity of all scholars with respect to their original significance. Many of these speculations have been more or less in the nature of dogmatic assertions, plausible at times, but still without any substantial proof to justify them. But this is only natural so long as this problem is not attacked from all sides. It is, however, a matter of gratification that attempts are being made to gauge the religious basis for most of these symbols.

In a field, therefore, where speculation reigns supreme, I hope to be excused if I make a fresh attempt and seek to prove what appears to my mind to be the original significance of these symbols. Already Theobald has connected many a device with Nature-worship or the phallic cult,[2] on the strength of archæological evidence found abroad. Recently Prof. J. N. Banerji[3] has at one place emphasised the connection of at least some of the symbols with the worship of Śiva. Another notable and learned attempt is the one by the late lamented Pandit Durga Prasad who approaches the problem from Tāntric view-point,[1] and who (along with Dr. Pran Nath),[2] followed by a host of writers, has definitely established the connection of many of these symbols with those on the Mohenjodaro seals. I mention here these authors in particular, in view of the fact that the present thesis was originally designed partly to supplement and partly to correct their researches. For it appeared to me that in Western Archæology, most, if not all, of these devices possessed a definite *phallic* connotation, i. e. they were originally connected with the worship of the Mother Goddess and her counterpart (the latter, of course, playing only a subordinate role to the Great Goddess). A systematic collection of material relating to her and to her symbols has, however, yielded for me unexpected information regarding many of her aspects and those of her counterpart, and I am bound to state my conviction that the Goddess and her counterpart supply clues not only to the symbols on punch-marked coins, etc., but to at least half the Hindu mythology (as represented by the Purāṇas) and even traditional lore (going under the name of Itihāsa).

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[1] *Principles of Tantra* (1914): Tantra·tattva (Arthur Avelon), p. 1. Compare the following verses addressed to Chaṇḍikā-Bhavānī, in the Kūrma P., Pūrva-bhāga, XII. 230 f.:—'सहस्रमूर्द्धानमनन्तशक्तिं सहस्रबाहुं पुरुषं पुराणम्। शयानमन्तःसलिले तवैव नारायणाख्यं प्रणतोऽस्मि रूपम्॥ दंष्ट्राकरालं त्रिदशाभिवन्द्यं युगान्तकालानलकर्तृरूपम्। अशेषभूताण्डविनाशहेतुं नमामि रूपं तव कालसंज्ञम्॥ फणासहस्रेण विराजमानं भोगीन्द्रमुख्यैरपि पूज्यमानम्। जनार्दनारूढतनु प्रसुप्तं नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव शेषसंज्ञं॥ अव्याहतैश्वर्यमयुक्तनेत्रं ब्रह्मामृतानन्दरसज्ञमेकम्। युगान्तशेषं दिवि नृत्यमानं नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव रुद्रसंज्ञम्॥'

[2] Theobald, p. 196, etc.

[3] I. H. Q. XVI, p. 1 ; 'Śiva and his Emblems on Early Coins and Seals.'

Broadly speaking, therefore, the chief symbols appearing on ancient Indian coins and seals have been grouped, without reference to their importance or occurrence, as follows :—(1) The Svastika ; (2) Fish and crocodile ; (3) Nāga or snake ; (4) The so-called 'Stūpa', 'Chaitya', or 'Meru' symbol, correctly a hill or a mountain ; (4) The so-called Bodhi tree or 'tree in railing', probably the 'Tree of life'; (6) The Sun ; the wheel or chakra, including the conventional 'lotus' or 'shaḍara-chakra'; the planets ; the stars, etc.; (7) The taurine symbol, the bull, the elephant, and other animals ; (8) The triangle, 'the life symbol', the cross, the cross-and-ball, trisceline and other symbols.

The rest of the devices are mostly combinations of two or more of them, if not, at times, mere variations of one of them. At the outset I may remind the reader that most of these devices are very ancient, having connection with symbols observable on pre-historic finds not only of India, but also of the world outside, that they have been successfully used by western archæologists in tracing the development of mythology from the Goddess-cult in different countries, and that, it would, therefore, be unsafe to confine our attention only to Indian antiquities or Indian text-books, however reliable they may appear to be from the so-called internal evidence. The question of symbols is intimately connected with that of mythology; hence, mythologies of these countries must have also been connected. To understand Indian mythology, we must study the foreign. That will enable us to differentiate the myths from historical truths, the chaff from the grain.

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[1] Num. Suppl., J. A. S. B., 1934. 5 f. Mr. E. H. Walsh rejects this suggestion in JRAS. 1937, 618, though he concedes to the Bull and the trident being Śaivaite emblems. Allan is definite at one place that the symbols have " no religious significance, neither Buddhist nor Hindu " (p. xxi), though he is equally definite at another that the Bull is the Nandī of Śiva (p. xxvi).

[2] I. H. Q. 1931, Suppl., pp. 1-52 ; also J. R. A. S. 1935. 307f ; etc.

Thus, it would be profitless to argue that the Vedic tradition (in its broadest sense) is more reliable than the Purāṇic, or *vice versa*, unless we can, with any amount of certainty, distinguish myths from historical facts contained in those texts. For instance, the Upanishadic text, mentioning the name of Devakī-putra Kṛishṇa, may not be more reliable than the Purāṇic tradition mentioning Revatī as the daughter of Raivataka. How? we shall see later; but it may be safely granted at this stage that even Purāṇic tradition may at times retain older form of myths or titbits of "Itihāsa", which may be found in the Upanishads or other earlier works in a somewhat developed stage. Thus, even while mentioning Kṛishṇa as a son of Devakī, the Purāṇas might add some details which allow us to grasp the real truth about him and his mother.

Secondly, if what we fondly believe to be historical facts, can, with some confidence, be proved mythical, it becomes highly doubtful, we humbly suhmit, if other traditions, which are utilised for building up the chronology not only of pre-Parikshit, but of post-Parikshit (-pre-Śiśunāga) age, are at all reliable. To explain, if Lakshmaṇa, Sītā, Bala-Rāma, Revatī, Kṛishṇa, Devakī, etc. almost definitely pass from history into myth (this is what I seek to prove here), then, what guarantee is there that the Mahā-bhārata war is not 'wholly fictitious', and that all the discussion relating to Parikshit I and Parikshit II is not utterly futile? Parikshit I, an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, never existed, because the five Pāṇḍavas never did. And even the most credulous persons would, I hope, refuse to believe in the existence of the hundred sons of Gāndhārī. About the so-called Parikshit II, I should refrain from being dogmatic. That western critic, Dr. Vincent Smith, has been brought to book for not being able to 'find sober history in bardic tales'.[1] But how far is it advisable to rely on Purāṇic statements relating to events of a very distant date, like the Mahābhārata war, the birth of Parikshit II, etc.,[2] while it is frequently found expedient to reject the more tangible evidence, they furnish about later events etc., e. g. the Śaiśunāga or 'Haryaṅka' kula,[1] etc.? The Upanishadic Vaṁśāvalis, which repeat the same names *ad nauseam*,[2] can easily be set aside. For even if it be granted that these "tutors' genealogies" are reliable, and that the Upanishadic tradition is really handed down 35 or 40 generations (as is claimed by those texts), does this not mean that the tradition itself so handed down becomes all the more useless? If the 'Vaṁśa' lists are correct, it means that the tradition passed through so many generations before it was finally composed presumably by the person mentioned at the lower end of the list. If then, traditions relating, for instance, to Devakī-putra Kṛishṇa, etc., be recorded many centuries later than these persons are supposed to have existed, how can they be relied upon as contemporary documents? The Upanishads avowedly tell of things that are past, and such tales they tell with equal veracity of Umā Haimavatī, etc. as well. Tales, very similar to those relating to the so-called historical personages, sometimes beginning with identical wording, are narrated in the Brāhmaṇas about Indra, Asura Vairochana, Varuṇa,[3] Vishṇu, etc. How can we believe in the existence of people like Bhujyū Lāhyāyani and Uddālaka Āruṇi, when both of them narrate the same tale: one saying that he had visited Patañchala Kāpya (of Madra country) when the latter's daughter was possessed by a goblin (=Gandharvagṛihitā), the other informing that he had also been there on an occasion when his (Patañchala's) wife was possessed by—one does not know whether the same or a different—goblin.[4] Certainly, questions asked by a goblin (e. g., Kva Pārikshitā abhavan?) need not be taken very seriously.[5] It is as dangerous to believe in that tradition as in another, which makes a bull (Ṛishabha, identical in my opinion with Lord Śiva), a swan and Agni teach Satyakāma Jābāla.[6] The contention is that *even* if such persons as Satyakāma Jābāla, Uddālaka Āruṇi, etc. ever existed in flesh and blood, traditions recorded about them have a flavour that is generally associated with very remote if not wholly ficticious personalities. For chronological purpose they are useless.

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[1] EHI. 1924, p. 28; PHAI. 1938, p. 1.

[2] PHAI, p. 25f.

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[1] Ibid. p. 98; V. Rangacharya, *Pre-Musalman India,* II. pt. i, p. 345. (1937); IC. VI. 195f.

[2] Read, for instance, in the original, Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. Such genealogies, however, appear trustworthy to Dr. Rai Chaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 8f.

[3] Compare Ś. B., XI. vi. 1. 1. with Chāndogya Up., VI. i. 1.

[4] Bṛihadāraṇyaka Up. III. iii. 1 and III. vii. 1.

[5] *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 32f.; PḤAI. 40f.

[6] Chhāndogya Up., IV, v-vii.

To return to symbols. Theobald said that at least some of these symbols "we can, with utmost confidence, declare to have originated in distant lands and in the remotest antiquity."[1] Though we may not, perhaps, have so much of confidence now, with regard to the first part of the proposition, in view of the discovery of the pictographic seals of Mohenjo-daro and other places in the Indus valley, possessing the same or similar symbols, we should not, for the present, hasten to conclude their Draviḍian[1a] or even indigenous origin either. One fact, however, stands clear that, as General Cunningham[2] pointed out, the weight of the silver punch-marked coins tallies with that of the Phœnician[3] currency but not with the coinage of any other people in the world. It has been noted that it was "the ships of the Phœnicians which brought the cubic measure and the weights, and the cubit of Babylonia to the shores of Greece, and caused them to be adopted there."[4] Another author says:— "Nearly all the silver in common use for trade throughout the East was brought into the market by the Phœnicians....The use of silver money, though it did not originate with the Phœnicians, was no doubt promoted by their widespread dealings."[5] In relation to this has to be studied another fact. Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit[6] has demonstrated on several occasions that the shape and weight-system of the punch-marked coins tally with those of the metal pieces found at Mohenjo-daro,—a fact which cannot be, yet has conveniently been, overlooked by those, who do not hesitate to jump to that unhappy conclusion that the Indian coinage must have originated from the Nandas,[7] in the 4th century B. C., because the latter possessed, according to all tradition, fabulous wealth. No ground is adduced for this assumption, and no parallel suggested. Apparently the idea seems to be borrowed from the fact that the first known gold coins in Lydia, 'that gold-producing country in the west of Asia

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[1] Theobald p. 181.

[1a] Ind. Hist. Cong., 1939, p. 189 f. (Calcutta session).

[2] Cun., p.4,6; note his observations regarding the Burmese or Siamese tikel.

[3] For Phœnicians, see below.

[4] M. Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, bk. ii. ch. 3 (v. I); Larned, Vol. V. p. 3208, col. i.

[5] E. J. Simcox, *Primitive Civilizations*, I, p. 400; Larned, III, p. 2247. It is just likely that they might have borrowed their weight and measure system from the ancient Egyptians or Assyro-Babylonians, amongst whom, as among prehistoric Cretans and Mycenæans, it was, with variations, current.

[6] JRAS. 1935. 721. This evidence was brought forth by Rai Bahadur, to the notice of the authorities in the department, as early as 1924, after which he lectured several times on this topic to the public. Note Col. Belaiew's like conclusions in *Ancient Egypt*, 1933, p. 76; JRAS. 1937. 5; etc.

[7] Allan, p. lxxi.

Minor ', are attributed by some writers to Crœsus of Sardis (latter half of the sixth century B. C.), ' whose name has become a proverb for wealth.'[1] But the evidence afforded by the find-spots of Indian punch-marked coins may not support such an hypothesis, with regard to the Nandas,—as is amply made clear by previous writers. A whole series of arguments, advanced by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] in favour of General Cunningham's hypothesis regarding the antiquity of Indian coinage, has been wittingly or unwittingly ignored, and so far as I am aware, no competent Sanskrit scholar has taken upon his shoulders to meet his arguments with any force. On the other hand, Sanskritists like V. S. Agrawala,[3] etc., have accepted his conclusions without any demur, and I think they are right.

But in our thesis regarding the interpretation of symbols, we have perhaps little direct concern with problems relating to the date of Indian coinage. Symbols survive for ages, and so also traditions relating to their meaning. The distance of time that separates the pre-historic antiquities and early punch-marked coins, for instance, does not at all matter, in view of conservative character of the Indian coinage, especially when we find that many of these symbols survived out-side India, even in the historic period.

It is inconceivable that the symbols used by the primitive folk were with values dogmatically attributed, having no relation to the object or idea they were intended to symbolise,—just as was many a time the case, for instance, with later symbols used in sorcery. The primitive mind has always been, no doubt, obsessed to a degree with the idea of sorcery, as seems clear, for example, from the hunt-

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1. Herodotus (i. 94) says :—" So far as we have any knowledge, the Lydians were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin." The invention of coinage is otherwise ascribed by writers like Strabo, Aelian, etc., to king Pheidon of Argos, who lived about 748 B.C,, according to Pausanias, and struck silver coins in the island of Aegina. According to Julius Pollux it was a disputed question "whether coins were first issued by Pheidon of Argos or by the Cymaean Demodice, wife of the Phrygian Midas, who was a daughter of Agamemnon, king of Cyme, or by the Athenians, Erichthonius and Lycus or by the Lydians, as Xenophanes asserts, or by the Naxians, according to the view of Aglaosthenes" (Percy Gardner, "*A Hist. Anc. Coinage:* 700-300 B.C.", p.67. 1918). "Some of these views are now out of court, especially those which give the origination of coins to Pheidon of Argos or to Athens. It is universally allowed that the money first appears on the western coast of Asia Minor. But it may be still doubted whether it originated with the wealthy Mermnad kings of Lydia or with Miletus and other Ionian cities of the coast." (Ibid. pp. 67–68). Among the Hebrews, gold as money is said to date only from the time of David, the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah.

2. *Carmichael Lectures,* 1921.

3. Nāgarī-Prachāriṇī-Patrikā, V. S. 1995. p. 375 f.

ing scenes depicted in the pre-historic caves,[1] the practices of the aborigines of Australia, etc. But these symbols signified in the first example actual hunting that was to take place,[2] and this is far removed from the diagrams, which, with the aid of incantations, could be used by later sorcerers (like the Tāntriks) to symbolise, for instance, the scene of hunting. Even now, the " North American Indian, eager to kill a bear to-morrow, will hang up a rude grass image of one and shoot it, reckoning that the symbolic act of magic will make the real one happen."[3] " Power over the images or imprints gives power over the person "[4] is a conception observed to be common to the primitive mind. Any way, it may be alleged with some confidence, that most of the symbols used by primitive phallic worshippers do not seem to have been far removed from what they actually stood for. As Theobald says, we may detect in these symbols " the forms which early men, in the infancy of our race, adopted to give expression in a visible shape to their conceptions of the unseen, and to embody the crude but widely spread beliefs which their speculations on such problems enabled them to evolve."[5]

It may also be borne in mind that Earth, the mother of all things and all beings,[6] the home of the dead and the infuser of life, occupies a most conspicuous position in barbaric theology, both on account of her benevolent and destructive aspects. " No fancy of nature can be plainer than that the Heaven-father and the Earth-mother are the Universal parent ".[7] Naturally it is to be expected that all the early sacred devices be intended to symbolise the heavenly twin ; the Earth-mother is for many reasons more dominant than her counterpart. "Myths of Earth and Heaven as a Divine pair are found (inter alia) among the African tribes, and as among the Yorubas, they are represented by the male and female organs of generation, the symbolism pointing to the mystic origin of all things from them."[1] And similar myths were current among divers other nations, and similar symbolism used. I, for one, have not much doubt that the Sky Father in India came to be identified with Rudra himself as early as the composition of Ṛig-vedic hymns;[2] and a man about to marry a girl used to say to the latter, among other things, the following:—"I am Dyaus, thou art Pṛithivī: come, therefore, let us marry."[3] Rudra-Dyaus was represented as a *liṅga*, Pṛithivī-Ambikā as a *yoni*; for they are the divine pair to whom all the world owes its origin.[4] This symbolism, it is not improbable, was connected with some sort of sympathetic magic. "In primitive agricultural communities Mother Earth was propitiated with sacrifices, or worshipped with orgiastric rites, or her processes were assisted with magic".[5] Earth Goddess or Mother Goddess was essentially connected with good luck[6] and prosperity. For this reason also symbols sacred to her may be stamped on coins, etc., which may be worn at times round the neck by people, for protective purposes, like amulets,[7] etc. With the Goddess herself or her counterpart they may be associated (e. g., they may wear *nishkas*[8] embossed with those symbols, round their necks), for the symbols on those coins were sacred to them; and possibly they served even the gods as protective amulets.[9]

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[1] Scholars like Roger Fry, H. H. Luquet (*L'Art et la Religion des Hommes Fossiles*, Paris, 1926), etc., doubt the connection between magic and the pre-historic art ; but the arrow-marks found on the animals should be deemed as decisive. (L. Adam, *Primitive Art*, p. 76, Pelican ed.)

[2] Antiquity, III. 5 f.; *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 916; 921; etc.

[3] E, B. Taylor, Vol. II, p. 85.

[4] *An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 916.

[5] Theobald, p. 187.

[6] Manu, IX. 37 :—' इयं भूमिर्हि भूतानां शाश्वती योनिरुच्यते ।'

[7] E. B. Taylor, II. 100; Cf. ERE. V. 128. F. J. Richards, *Side-light on the 'Dravidian Problem'* p. 21, says that 'belief in Earth and Sky as two deities from whose union all creation springs is familiar enough among many of our jungle tribes.' Vide Isaac Taylor, p. 321 f., p. 327–8. *The Ilied*, bk. XV. Juno's prayer.

RV. I. 191·6 :—' द्यौर्वः पिता पृथिवी माता ।'

RV. VI. 51·5: —' द्यौष्पितः पृथिवि मातः ।'

Cf. RV. I. 90·7; I. 159·1–2; I. 185·10·11; V. 43·2; VI. 70·6; X. 35·3; etc. AV. VI. 120·2; etc.; RV. I. 89·4 = T. B. II. vii. 16·3 :—' तन्माता पृथिवी तत्पिता द्यौः ।'

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1. ERE. V. 128.

2. RV. VI. 49. 10:—'भुवनस्य पितरं गीर्भिराभी रुद्रं दिवा वर्धया रुद्रमक्तौ। बृहन्तमृष्वमजरं सुषुम्नमृधग्घुवेम कविनेषितासः ॥'

3. Pāraskara-gṛihya-sūtra, *commentary*, p. 85. (Veṅkaṭeśvar Press ed. 1928):—
'द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वं तावेहि विवहावहै।'

4. Chhāndogya Up., I. 9. 1:—'सर्वाणि ह वा इमानि भूतान्याकाशादेव समुत्पद्यन्ते।'

The word *dyaos* occurs in Avesta (*Yasht*, III. 13) in the sense of *heaven* or *sky* (Moulton, p. 124) and can be compared to Zeus. Now, Herodotus tells us that the Persians "called the whole orb of heaven Zeus" and worshipped him (Moulton, p. 36). It is not improbable that Avestan 'dyaos' is identical with Herodotus' Zeus. This naturally leads us to the equation: Rudra = Dyaus = Zeus = Indra, which we shall substantiate later.

5. Ibid. p. 129.

6. Vide infra.

7. Read ERE. III, p. 701 f., esp. p. 703.

8. RV. II. 33. 10:—'अर्हन् बिभर्षि सायकानि धन्वार्हन् निष्कं यजतं विश्वरूपम्। अर्हन्निदं दयसे विश्वमभ्वं न वा ओजीयो रुद्र त्वदस्ति ॥' Dr. Bhandarkar, l. c., p. 66 f.

9. Amulets, endowed with protective powers or invincibility were made use of by the divinities of the Egyptians, Sumerians, Babylonians, Ethiopians, etc.

Again, there is no doubt that in many foreign countries, devices of animals and plants sacred to the Goddess or her counterpart are found on coins or represented in weight system. And there, they are recognized in their correct perspective. For instance, the weights used in Assyria and Babylonia, found by Sir A. H. Layard in the ruins of ancient Nineveh (the city of Nina, opposite Mosul), are of two sorts : bronze lions and stone ducks.[1] Fortunately, they have been long recognized there as being forms of Nina, the Mother Goddess. On early Elisian coins an eagle is substituted for Zeus.[2] Numerous other instances might be noted in the course of this thesis. "There can be no doubt that many of the types, such as the owl at Athens, the bee at Ephesus, the Pegasus at Corinth, were of religious significance",[3] though for the preference of a particular animal or object at a particular place, there might be other reasons. Attributes of the mother goddesses (grāma-devatās) may differ from village to village, though it might be, perhaps, recognized that all these are but different forms of the same Goddess.

Eminent numismatists like E. Curtius, B. V. Head, etc. have opined that there "is good reason to think that the earliest coins were actually struck within the pricincts of the temples, and under direct auspices of the priests."[4] Though we may perhaps not go to such a length with regard to coinage in many countries, we cannot be oblivious to the fact that in some nations of yore, which have been claimed as fountain-heads of world civilization, the rulers played the double role of priest-kings. I refer especially to the *patesis* of the Sumerians and Chaldæans and the early priest-kings of Knossus.

And even if the contention of Curtius, Head, etc., be proved incorrect, that would by no means show that the symbols on those

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(E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstition,* pp. xviii–xxi). "The whole of the Babylonian story of the Creation shows that men believed that all the great works of the gods and the devils were performed by magic". (Ibid. p. xxv). The use of magic by gods is not infrequently found in the literature of Babylonia and the inscriptions of Egypt. And in India, too, 'Māyā' is one of the distinguishing characteristics of some of the highest gods of the Vedic pantheon. (See V. K. Rajwade in ABI, II. p. 110). "It is probable that in Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt amulets were designed and made bv workmen attached to the great temples." (Wallis Budge, *Amulets etc.*, p. xxiv).

[1] Cun., p. 8; also p. 16; 13; etc. For the representations of lions on coins, see Garstang, p. 304.

[2] ERE. XII. 139 f.

[3] ERE. III. 700, col. i.

[4] *Greek Coins* (S. Lane-Poole's ed. ch. 2); Num. Chron. 1870; ERE. III. p. 699. col. ii.; Percy Gardner, *Hist. Anc. Coinage*, p. 73.

coins had no religious value, when it can be so demonstrated by means of evidence of diverse character, literary, monumental, and other. "On early coins of Elis (a country on the W. coast of Peloponnesus) an eagle appears as a substitute for the god (Zeus); later he bears the eagle in his hand."[1] It will be shown later that in literature "this process is common to numerous deities (or rather different forms of the supreme Divine Twin) in the West as well as in the East."[2] On later Indian coins too, the attributes of the Divine Twin are seen to be displaced by their forms like Lakshmī, Kārtikeya, etc. The very fact that later we see gods and goddesses displacing those symbols should make it at least probable that the symbols were not without religious connotation. In the West, even temple-buildings[3] sacred to forms of the Mother-Goddess (e.g. Artemis at Ephesus in Iōnia and Aphrodītē at Paphos on the western coast of Cyprus) are depicted on coins. Again, it is well-known that cowry (*cypraea moneta*, Skt. Kapardikā) was used as money not only in India, but also in parts of Africa. References in *Yü-kung* (Tribute to Yü), *Shu-king*, *Shi-king*, etc. vonchsafe its use as coin also in China.[4] For obvious reasons, *cowry* was equated with the *yoni* of the Goddess, and was held in high reverence as a symbol of fertility. The use of cowry as money is only another argument in support of the proposition that money was held sacred and was connected with the cult of the Goddess in ancient times.

Writing about the significance of the devices appearing on ancient Greek coins, E. A. Gardner summarises the various views prevalent among the western critics and gives his own opinion about that question in the following words:—"The origin of these types has been a matter of much dispute. Some authorities have regarded them as religious; and this appears the obvious explanation when the head of the chief deity of the city appears on its coins, as is the case with Athēna at Athens, Hēra at Argos, Zēūs at Elis. Others are generally regarded as commercial, especially when the type represents the chief product of the city, like the tunny-fish at Cyzicus, the ear of corn at Metapontum, or the Silphium, a medicinal plant, at Cyrene—though in this last case the head of Zeus Ammon appears on the other side of the coin. Probably no one explanation fits all cases, but various local or other considerations led to the choice of the device, or 'arms' of the city which was placed upon its coins; sometimes it seems to be merely what is called in heraldry a 'canting' device, as when the parsley leaf appears on the coins of Selinus or the seal of those Phocæa, " Selinon" meaning parsely and ' Phokos ' a seal." (*An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, 1931 p. 528.)

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[1] ERE. XII. 139 f.

[2] Infra.

[3] ERE. III. 700, col. ii.

[4] Hobson-Jobson, under *Cowry*.

It will be perhaps clear in course of this article that the only correct interpretation of the *original* significance of these devices is the first, the ' obvious ' one, viz., the religious interpretation ; and that there is no necessity of any halfway house, partly acknowledging it and partly denying it. The tunny-fish, the ear of corn, the medical and other plants, as well as the so-called heraldic devices, were all originally looked upon by the primitive people as only symbols of the Universal Goddess or her counterpart. The various deities referred to by the writer are already known to have evolved out of the heavenly twin. The interpretation of ' heraldic devices ' assumes that the primitive mind had been developed to that degree which would enable it to take interest in Art for Art's sake.

With these general observations, I may proceed to deal with the symbols, requisitioning the aid of those who are versed in the archæology of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, etc., my excuse for inflicting upon the readers frequent quotations from these authors being as much the value of their observations as my own ignorance of the field that is theirs.

CHAPTER II

Migration of Civilisation

Writing about the use chiefly of flint in the Palæolithic Age, W. J. Perry[1] observes:—" Obsidian, so plentiful in certain parts of the world, could have been used, but it was not generally used until civilisation was well under way." He points out that in the New Stone Age, " much use was made of hard igneous rocks for implements, which were made by grinding the stone to a fine cutting edge." He adds :—" Why is it that men went for so many years without thinking of the adoption of this other form of implement? It is certainly an indication of the lack of inventiveness of mankind."

It may be granted, I believe, that without an adequate knowledge of the geographical features of the lands, where civilisation flourished in early times, it is not possible to say with any amount of confidence as to which of them was a suitable place for the origin of that civilisation. Again, it can be admitted that we can not but be struck by the great similarity that obtains in the types of civilisation observable in those distant lands of yore. It can, therefore, be legitimately questioned if inspite of this ' lack of inventiveness ' of the primitive man, we can at all presume, or prove, independent development of civilisation in those nations.

Indeed, if we can prove that each of those nations, having not quite identical set of conditions, had yet been able to build up independently civilisations, in which not only food-gathering, writing, metallurgy, and other numerous arts, trades and crafts were known or developed, but also identical mythology or religion,—then surely, I think, we must pay our humble tribute for this marvellous coincidence to that great Shaper of things. Thus, it would be remarkable, if writing was conceived of, or was developed—say from huntsman's arrow-marks—by man independently in different corners of the world and almost simultaneously in the long course of his existence. Again, it would be nothing short of a miracle if this happened, not in the case of one art or two, but in numerous cases.

Such miracles, however, are unfortunately fast disappearing these days! It is now being increasingly recognized that man does not generally take trouble to invent things, unless he is forced to do so by circumstances, and not by mere necessity. It is no more denied that the civilisations of the Egyptians, the Mesopotamians and the Chinese are not independent productions, but must have originated at one particular place whichever it be. This does not mean,—must I add ?—that all points common to those cultures were originated at that centre; for it is just likely that after initial borrowals, a particular people might have developed some phases of their inheritance, which they again transferred to its original home, or to other tribes.

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[1] Perry, p. 24-25.

Thus many of the missing links in the migration of world culture are now being filled up. The efforts of the Egyptian scholars have proved beyond doubt that the ancient Egyptian civilisation is not a sudden growth on that soil, and certainly not introduced from some foreign land. Similar claims have been put forth by students of Sumero-Chaldæan and Elamite civilisations for those respective cultures, but (so far as I gather), not with so much of cogent reasoning. It is, however, accepted that owing to the great similarity between them, they cannot be all looked upon as independent productions, and that any two of them must have borrowed from the third. In the case of the Chinese, the latest opinion veers to their borrowing from the Elimites or indirectly from the Sumerians. The Aegeans (including the Cretans), the Syrians (including the people of Palestine), the people of Anau (in Turkestan, near Askabad on the railway to Merv), etc., are known to be indebted directly or indirectly to either the Egyptians or the Mesopotamians, or both.

Only in the case of the Vedic Aryans (a branch of the so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans), an independent development of civilisation is still assumed or maintained. Their Greek brethren are already known to have entered the Egypto-Mesopotamian fold, in spite the common tie of the "Aryan" language, and at least part of culture that bound them together.[1] It is also admitted that in view of the continuity of the European races on the continent, the theory of great successive migrations from Central Asia into that region has to be discouraged.[2] The only theory possible would then be that the entire people of Europe changed their language under the yoke of a foreign rule of a small band of people speaking the Proto-Vedic tongue, who migrated from Central Asian high-lands,—if at all such a migration has to be assumed. But, in that case they borrowed their civilisation from one people, and language from another ; since, according to the theory which refuses to recognize the influence of this Egypto-Mesopotamian civilisation on the Proto-Vedic Aryan, those of them who passed westwards and imposed their language on the Greeks etc., were not, however, responsible for the Grecian civilisation ; for the Greeks are now almost definitely known to have borrowed their culture from the Aegeans whom they destroyed. The Aegeans, on the other hand, derived the "main impulse" in their civilisation, according to no less an authority than Sir Arthur Evans, from the Egyptians. At any rate it is proved beyond any possibility of doubt that the Greeks, etc. were engulfed in the culural tide of the Egypto-Mesopotamian civilisation. And yet, it was for the vagrants of Central Asia,—a small band only, which did not break the racial continuity of the ancient nation of Greece,—to impose their language on those people ! Our assumption of the independent development of the Vedic civilisation has thus landed us in such a helpless, if not a hopeless, position.

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[1] I. Taylor, p. 300 f. Indeed, Herodotus long ago claimed Egyptian origin for many Greek deities.

[2] I. Taylor, passim, esp. p. 18 f., 42 f., 52 f., 98 f., 215 f.

Already signs of disruption and revolt are visible even in orthodox quarters. Scholars are struck by certain noteworthy similarities observable between certain Indian myths (say of Indra and Vṛitra) and Sumero-Chaldæan legends (e.g. of Bel-Marduk and Tiamat).[1] Generally, it has been the effort of the Vedic scholar, who accepts these similarities to further the claims of the Vedic Aryans, in spite of the fact that no rational explanation is available in the Vedas themselves of those myths. On the other hand, they are easily explicable as arising out of certain primitive, yet deep-rooted notions of the Egyptians, or at times out of certain developed conceptions of the Sumero-Chaldæans.

Then there is another question : regarding the Draviḍians. Since the time of Caldwell, the Draviḍian tongue is known to contain not a few words that are also found in the Accadian;[2] there are also many others which seem to be common to Sanskrit and Draviḍian since very ancient times.[3] Now-a-days words are also available that are found both in the Vedic Sanskrit and the Accadian. This is already complex enough to put one out of one's nerves ! Still, research has added problems relating to Proto-Australoids or Pre-Draviḍians, and the analogies that are found between the Sumerian and the Austro-Asiatic language have made it not impossible that " the Sumerian should be related to the Austric

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1. Tilak in Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 29 f.
2. Caldwell, *Grammar of the Draviḍian Languages*, p. 491 f. (London 1875).
3. Ibid. p. 454 f.

languages."[1] Again, it is well-nigh an established fact that the Muṇḍa and Draviḍian "vocabularies have intermingled and often when confronted by a word common to both languages, we are unable to say to which linguistic stratum (?) the words originally belonged."[2] It is not proposed here to solve all of these problems. But certainly, the distinction between the Muṇḍa, Draviḍian, and Vedic *religions* seems to disappear, in the light of certain facts brought forth here prominently. Indeed, where did the difference lie? This is the question we shall ask ourselves after the perusal of this thesis. But beyond that I shall not venture any judgment, say on problems relating to the Proto-Australoids or Pre-Draviḍians. The questions dealt with here may, however, have some bearing on those problems, too.

I have already confessed in the above pages my partiality for Egyptain hypothesis as regards the origin of the world civilisation. There are diverse considerations to support that hypothesis, which can be better looked into books like "*The Ancient Egyptians*" by Elliot Smith, "*The Growth of Civilisation*" by W. J. Perry, etc. Direct light on these problems is also thrown by W. F. Edgerton's "*Ancient Egyptian Ships and Shipping*", MacDonald's "*Migration of Symbols*", Perry's "*Children of the Sun*", and "*The Origin of Magic and Religion*", Frazer's "*The Golden Bough*" (7 Volumes), etc.

But there were other arguments which almost compelled me to accept that hypothesis. The reader may know some of them conveniently at a later stage. Some others might be mentioned here. There is, for instance, a good deal of similarity between the names of certain Egyptian gods and those of some Indian divinities (as will be shown later). These names are, however, not found in the Sumerian or Chaldæan mythology. The natural conclusion is that, probably, either the Egyptians borrowed them from the Indians or that the reverse took place. That is, the culture did not originate in, or migrate from, some central region where there is no indication of those divinities being ever worshipped under those or similar names. But this is, perhaps, not a very satisfactory argument. I shall take a concrete example regarding a notable custom. We all know that mummification was a practice which was very widely observed in the land of Pharaohs (ancient Kemi). Most of us probably know how their deep-rooted convictions were responsible for the origin and continuation of that system. It was natural to

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1. J. Przyluski, in Bagchi's *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 148.
2. I C., I. p. 375; Cf. IHA, vi. p. 164 f.

that soil, and it did not grow all of a sudden. On the other hand, if we find in India almost an isolated mention of that practice, in a not-very-early work like the Śrauta-sūtras of Āśvalāyana,[1] can we suppose that it was indigenous to India, or that it passed from India to Egypt? This practice was not so much in favour even with the Sumero-Chaldæans. Could it then originate with them, and yet be practised not so much by them as by the Egyptians? As regards mythology, we do at times trace regular transformation of certain conventional notions (which could be originated only in the Nile valley) into myths, that seem to spring up all of a sudden in other countries;—nay, we can even see how mythology becomes more and more developed as we proceed eastwards. From the East to the West, it is difficult to trace this development, even where the earliest myths of each country are concerned.

Again, as A. J. A. Dubois points out, the "division of the people into castes existed also amongst the Egyptians. With them, as with the Hindus, the law assigned an occupation to each individual, which was handed down from father to son. It was forbidden for any man to have two professions or to change his own.....Nevertheless, there was this difference between the Egyptians and the Hindus: with the former all castes and all professions were held in esteem...and although the priestly and military castes possessed peculiar privileges, nobody would have considered it anything but criminal to despise the classes whose work, whatever it happened to be, contributed to the general good".[2] According to the latest research, we find the caste-system almost full-fledged already in the Vedas.[3] The increase of prestige on the part of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas is, of course, a later development. It is more apparent in the Epic period than in the Vedic, and even in the Vedic period the sacerdotal and military classes seem to have enjoyed more privileges than they probably did among the ancient Egyptians.

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[1] Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, VI. 10. 2:—'संस्थितेऽतीर्थेन निर्हृत्यावभृथे प्रेतालङ्कारान्कुर्वन्ति, केशश्मश्रुलोमनखानि वापयन्ति, नलदेनानुलिम्पति, नलदमालां प्रतिमुञ्चन्ति, निष्पूरीषमेके कृत्वा पृषदाज्यं पूरयन्ति, अहतस्य वाससः पाशतः पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य प्रोर्णुवन्ति, प्रत्यग्दशेनाविपादम्। अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमाकूर्वीरन्।'

"Were he to die they take up the corpse out by means of an egress not meant for holy purposes, and in the bathing room they adorn the corpse. They cause the beard, hair, and nails to be removed, apply ointment of "nalada" or nard, and put on garlands of the same; some have the custom of removing all the (entrails and) excreta and put in a balm of curds and ghee; then they cut off a quarter-piece from the selvedge of an unwashed cloth and wrap it up with the fringe downwards so as to leave the feet bare,—while his sons appropriate the remaining piece of cloth." I do not know whether this translation and the suggestion that this passage refers to mummification, belong originally to that great Sanskritist Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. At any rate he adopts them, in *Intermediate Prose Selections*, Bombay Univ., 1925–26, notes on sel. no. 17. I have not much doubt that this rendering is correct.

[2] Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 31.

[3] Deccan College Res. Inst. Bulletin, Vol. II, Apte's article.

And as among the Indians, "immense importance was attached by the Egyptians to the begetting of a son, who should perform the due family rites, or see that they were performed by others after him."[1] An Egyptian king like Beni-Hassan, who gave his officiating priest land-donations and presents in commemoration of his deceased father,[2] would have been, I am sure, praised by a Brāhmaṇa bard, as an equal of Pṛithu, Nṛiga, Nahusha, etc. This custom is entirely in conformity with the Indian soil. Such similarities could not but be due to either cultural contact or racial migration.

Now, in connection with an account of the Nile, collected by Mr. Wilford out of Purāṇic sources, and condemned unanimously by H. H. Wilson, Cunningham, St. Martin, etc., we read :—" But Lieut. J. H. Speke, (in his *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, chaps. I, V, X) unhesitatingly states that when planning his discovery of the source of the Nile, he secured his best information from Wilford's map (of that river), and testifies to the general correctness of the Purāṇic account." [3] We do not know whether to attribute it all to the famous *ghuṇākshara nyāya* ! But if at all that Purāṇic account, constructed or reconstructed, be correct, having authentic tradition at its back, then may we not take it as a proof of the migration of some tribes from their home in the west to India ? Could not such practices as mummification, and such accounts as that of the river Nile, be only reminiscences of their long-forgotten home ? We shall see that actually some tribes migrated from that region to India, some at a very late date than we in India would generally like to believe. But I must proceed cautiously.

In order that an Indian student may be able to follow the discussion given below, in its correct perspective, it is perhaps necessary to add a small note (mainly based on the opinions of some distinguished historians of the West), relating to cultural relations that existed between different countries involved in the vortex of Sumero-Egyptian civilization. This subject can, of course, be dealt with only very inadequately. One fact that must be remembered is that the early chronology of the Egypt and Mesopotamia was for a long time a matter of considerable speculation and controversy, which can even now by no means be regarded as settled. Again,

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[1] Allen, p. 110. [2] Ibid, p. 109 f.

[3] S. N. Majumdar's ed. of Cun's AGI., Intro. p. xxxviii.

—as somebody wisely said—all dates throughout the world (even in India !) before 2000 B.C. are merely conjectural. High-dating is undoubtedly very well, only if it is proved correct ; but unfortunately, everywhere—in Egypt, in Mesopotamia as well as in India —it has a knack to go wrong. The western scholars have got rid of that bane by the end of the last century. In India, generally speaking, we are as yet far from that scientific attitude. Our only endeavour is to put back dates as much as possible. Egyptian and Sumero-Chaldæan chronology, formerly antedated by at least fifteen centuries, has been now brought down. This is also not satisfactory to some. The Germans, for instance, are said to be unwilling accept the dates assigned to the early kings of Sumer and Accad in the Cambridge Ancient History, and they adopt the 'extra short' chronology which would bring them down by about five hundred years. It has at any rate one advantage : it does not leave many wide gaps in history.

The Sumerians and Chaldæans :—By the 2nd millennium B. C., Mesopotamia, which then extended only a little below Kurna in the South, was divided into Sumer (in the South) and Accad (in the North). Palæolithic and Neolithic implements, etc., abound in the upper Euphrates valley, while the lower valley seems to have become inhabitable in the Chalcholithic Age. The northern Euphrates valley as well as the northern part of the Syrian desert was chiefly inhabited by the Semitic Martu or Amurru. To their south and east lay the Biblical plain of Shinar (later on known as Babylonia), of which parts round Sippar and Opis (known as Urra or Uri), were occupied by another race of Semitic conquerors, the Chaldees, Casdim or 'Casidi' (= 'Conquerors ').[1] If we may trust Berossus, that learned priest of Belus at Babylon, there "was originally at Babylon a multitude of men of foreign race who had settled in Chaldæa".[2]

As compared with the northern Shinar, the southern Shinar (=*Kengi*, the land, or *Kengi Sumer*, the land of Sumer) contained a more mixed population, the predominant element in which was the Sumerians,—the 'black heads' of the texts,[3]—a white race akin to the Indo-Europeans and speaking an agglutinative tongue. To the north-east of Shinar, in the country around Zagros mountains bordering on Media, were a fair-haired bearded hill-people speaking a 'Caucasian' tongue. They penetrated the Tigris valley and occupied what later on came to be known as Assyria. To their west were the afore-mentioned Amurru; and to the south and the west of the Sumerians were the desert Arabians. Even in the capital of Assyria, we find the presence of certain 'Sumerian' monuments. The population was nowhere unmixed.

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[1] Sayce, *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*, ch. 2 ; Larned, I. 245 f. E. B., II. 842.

[2] Ragozin, p. 129.

[3] L. Wooley, *The Sumerians*, p. 6 ; read p. 1-8 ; 48 ; etc. *Ur etc.*, p. 13.

As Sir Arthur Keith says:—"The Mesopotamian peoples, both past and present, represent a transition between Iranian and Semitic types, but they have retained more of the Iranian than of the Semitic. As to the racial nature of the al-Ubaid people there can be no doubt; if they were living to-day we should call them Arabs....There is no trace...of any round head element of the Hittite nor of a Mongolian type....The southern Mesopotamians at the beginning of the fourth millennium B. C. had big, long and narrow heads: their affinities were with the people of the Caucasian or European type....They were akin to the pre-dynastic people of Egypt described by Dr. Foquet, but differed from all other pre-dynastic and dynastic Egyptians....One can still trace the ancient Sumerian face eastwards among the inhabitants of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, until the valley of the Indus is reached."[1]

In the opinion of certain other scholars,[2] however, the Sumerians belonged to what is known as Armenoid stock, which is broad-headed, black-haired, and (usually) brown-eyed. Langdon shows inclined orbits to be a feature of the Sumerians; Buxton shows it to be an Armenoid peculiarity.[3] Armenoid element seems to have penetrated into Egypt in early historic times.[4] According to Dr. Speiser, the Sumerians are "definitely in lower Mesopotamia in the latter half of the Uruk period, when the cylinder seal and writing first appear."[5] They are there even earlier, at the beginning of the Ubaid period, according to Frankfort: These are, of course, the long-headed type described by Keith. They are styled by him as the Brown Race.

Babylonia and Assyria:—The plain of Shinar (more correctly Shineār, also called Edin, the Eden of Genesis, mentioned later on in the Bible as "the garden of God"), came to be known as Babylonia after that celebrated city Babylon (Assyrian *Bab-ilu*, *Bab-ili*; Hebrew *Babel*), "situated on the Hilla branch of the Euphrates just north of the modern town of Hilla."[6] It is only in the second

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1. Al-Ubaid. p. 216; cf. p. 240.
2. Buxton, p. 55 f., 90 f., 102 f.
3. Ibid. p. 55; 103.
4. Ibid. p. 88; 90.
5. J. Amer. Ori. Soc., Suppl., 1939, April, p. 29.
6. E. B., II. 841; Ragozin, p. 128.

millennium B. C. that Babylon emerges as the head of a state under Sumu-abu. Originally an humble town, it attained its glory in the days of Hammurabi (Khammurabi), when it became the capital of Babylonia. Hammurabi built there the famous E-sagilla of Merodach (Bel-Marduk) and Sarpanitum by the side of a great lake, and "raised the summit (of this temple) to the firmament."[1] And with the glory of the god increased the prestige of the priesthood,[2] so much so that it ultimately acquired more power than the royalty. In Egypt, the king, " son of the Sun ", was far above the priesthood that was at first subservient to the sceptre, but in later times, the former seems to have gained the upperhand over the latter. In India, the priesthood is undoubtedly more powerful than the crown, though (as in Mesopotamia) the divinity of the king is still recognized.[3]

To me, therefore, it appears difficult to resist the inference that the change of their respective status observable in these countries is an indication of the migration of civilisation from the West to the East ; for the reverse could not happen. It is easy to understand the natural importance of the chief or the leader of a clan or community ; it was then for the Egyptians a logical step to regard the king as a god or as a son of the God. But it is only with the increase of importance of those religious fads, known in common parlance as ritualistic observances, that the priesthood gained, or even now gains, its power.

Assyria takes its name from that of its capital Ashshur, Ashur, Assur, or Asur (now Qal'at Shergat or Kalaat Shergat), which is on the right bank of the Tigris, midway between the Greater and the Lesser Zab.[4] Zariku, the earliest ruler of Ashshur—a feudatory of Dungi and his son Bur-Sin,—writes the name of that city as A-Shir, and " this is the usual writing of the name of the city god, in the early inscriptions of the city."[5] Before the rise of the city it was perhaps occupied by the Sumerians, whose goddess Innini (the Accadian Ishtar) was *possibly* older than the god Ashshur himself. From the time of Zariku onwards, however, the people of Ashshur "were Semites and possibly from Amurrū, who, like the Semitic colony in Cappadocia of the same period, obtained their culture from Babylonia."[6]

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[1] Maspero, p. 41 f., 21 f.

[2] E. B., II. 841.

[3] J. Gujarat Res. Soc., Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Com. Vol., p. 152 f.

[4] E. B., II. 842.

[5] E. B., II. 568, col. i.

[6] Ibid.

We have already noted that the population of Mesopotamia is known to have contained from quite early times a substantial element of the Mediterranean race,[1] which originally belongs to Egypt and southern portions of the Continent. Possibly, this race played a great part in the spread and propagation of the earliest civilisation of Man from the West to the East; it is distributed from the Pillars of Hercules to the Dutch Indies,[2] and it carried with it, we may presume, the cult of Mother Goddess and all the complicated ideas associated with that cult.

Syria and Palestine—were naturally a region through which contact must have been maintained between the two civilised countries, the land of Pharaoh and the Plain of Shinar. "Confined between the sea and the desert, Syria offers the only route of easy access to an army marching northwards from Africa into Asia, and all conquerors, whether attracted to Mesopotamia or to Egypt by the accumulated riches on the banks of the Euphrates or the Nile, were obliged to pass through it in order to reach the object of their cupidity."[3]

"The word Syria, called in the Hebrew Aram, from a son of Shem (Gen. x. 22), in the largest acceptation, extended from the Mediterranean and the river Cydnus to the Euphrates, and from Mount Taurus on the north to Arabia and the border of Egypt in the South. It was divided into Syria Palestina, including Canaan and Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, between two ridges of Mount Lebanon, and Upper Syria. The last was known as Syria in a restricted sense."[4] "The only tribes that can be considered as peculiar to Syria (proper) are the tenants of the heights of Lebanon."[5] Palestina extended along the Mediterranean coast from Raphia or the borders of Egypt almost upto Joppa, Jaffa or Yafa (Biblical Japho), but whether the Philistines occupied this territory prior to or later than the Israelites, it is difficult to say.[6]

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[1] Buxton, p. 79; 90; 102; etc.

[2] Ibid, p. 79.

[3] Maspero, p. 4. To single out a few details, the recent excavations at Saktjegözü (to the North of Aleppo, in Syria) and Byblos (modern Djebail 20 miles north of Beyrouth in Palestine) alone supply ample evidence for proving the intimate cultural contact between this region on the one hand and Mesopotamia and Egypt on the other, E. B. II. 537. i; 539. ii.

[4] Beeton, p. 216.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Scholars opine differently on this point: Cf. E. A. Annett, p. 16 f., 21 f. G. Adam Smith, *Hist. Gegraphy of the Holy Land*, ch. 9.

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The terms Syria, Canaan,[1] Palestina (Palestine), Phœnicia, etc. are used often very vaguely, as may be apparent from the following quotations :—

"Canaan signifies 'the low lands' and was primarily the name of the coast on which the great cities of Phœnicia were built.[2] As, however, the island parts of the country were inhabited by a kindred population, the name came to designate the whole of Palestine, just as Palestine itself meant originally only the small territory of the Philistines."[3]

Elsewhere we learn :—"The Greek name, Phœnicians, of unknown origin, must not be applied to the whole nations of race of Canaan who settled in Southern Syria ; it belongs to the Canaanites of the sea coast only, who were widely separated from the others. Phœnicia, in both classical history and geography is merely that very narrow tract of land, hemmed in by mountains and sea, extending from Aradus on the north to the town of Acco on the South."[4]

H. G. Wells states that the Canaanites were "closely related to the Phœnicians who founded Tyre and Sidon, and to the Amorites who took Babylon and, under Hammurabi, founded the first Babylonian empire."[5]

Lastly, as Maspero says, "It would be a difficult task to define with any approach to accuracy the distribution of the Canaanites, Amorites, and Aramæans, and to indicate the precise points where they came into contact with their rivals of non-Semitic stock. Frontiers between races and languages can never be easily determined, and this is especially true of the peoples of Syria."[6]

It is difficult to determine the exact date of Israelites' occupation of the land of Canaan, though we find a clay tablet belonging to the time of Pharaoh Amenophis IV (of the XVIIIth dynasty), referring to their conquest of that territory.

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[1] Flinders Petrie, *Eastern Exploration: Past and Future*, p. 24, says :—"The Canaanite, who is named as a leading people along with the Amorite, is a term best reserved for the neolithic troglodites, the aborigines of Canaan." He adds :—"Kan'ana is the name of the country in Egyptian ; all other designations—Amorites, Philistines, etc.—are the names of people who entered the country." (Ibid. p. 30-31).

[2] The Bible mentions the fact that "the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan" (Numbers, xiii. 29), and refers to "Canaan, the land of the Philistine". (Zephaniah, ii. 5).

[3] A. H. Sayce, *Fresh Lights, etc.*; ch. 2; Larned, I. p. 865.

[4] F. Lenormant, *Manual of the Ancient Hist. of the East*, bk. 6, ch. 1.

[5] The Outline of History, p. 254.

[6] Maspero, p. 147.

Not very long after that conquest, they seem to have mixed racially with the people whom they conquered :—"And the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perrizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites: And they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods."[1] And such a racial mixture took place, we presume, probably after every conquest. The whole of the early history of Syria and Palestine, we should remember, was a mighty struggle of neighbouring nations, contending for supremacy. The population must always have been a mixed one.

It would be interesting to know that Palestine was so named, in the opinion of many scholars, "because it was thought to be mainly occupied by the Philistine."[2]

Anatolia (*Anadol*)—is ethnologically connected with not only with Syria-Palestine,[3] but with Arabia[4] and Mesopotamia. As early as the Agade dynasty, the Syrians invaded and settled in this region round Kül-Tepe, near Kaisaryieh. Legends speak of Sargon I (Sarru-kinu) carrying a victorious campaign to help a commercial colony of the Semites in Asia Minor that complained of local oppression. Semitic seals, similar to the Sumero-Chaldæan ones, e. g. those representing the Gilgamesh myth etc., are found here from early historic times.[5] Earlier still, the very long-headed slender Aurignacian man and the Mousterian culture connect this region, in the opinion of Buxton, not only with the Continent but also with Arabia and Mesopotamia. The round-headed race of the Armenoids, reckoned by von Luscan and others among the oldest inhabitants of Asia Minor, forms the most important element of its population and, according to Buxton, connects it ethnologically even with the region west of Pamir.

Aegean Civilisation, previously called in a restricted sense Mycenæan, or Minoan, or Cretan, civilisation, extends in reality over a much wider area than the Aegean islands. Situated in them were Mycenae and Tiryns, famous for their Cyclopean walls, so well known among the Greeks. A portion of the people, "agreeing in its prevailing skull-forms with the Mediterranean race of north Africa,"[6] who inhabited these isles from early Neolithic period, are known to have been the authors of that culture, which they had directly borrowed or carried from the land of the Nile. Yet, in a hundred ways, Mycenean art, inspite of her being a handmaid to royalty, reflects with wonderful fulness the free spirit of a glorious age, wishing to release herself out of bondage. A view is now current that attributes this culture to the Achæans, who according to Homeric and other early Greek account, appear to be the natives of these islands.[1] Sometimes, a general designation like 'Pelasgians' was used for these people. "A large number of place-names occur throughout the Greek mainland as well as in Macedonia, Epirus and Thrace which are paralleled in Asia Minor, notably those in – ιθος (– nthos) and =σσος (– ssos). These are generally regarded as being non-Indo-European and therefore non-Greek,"[2] and are attributed to Achæans or otherwise to the 'original Cretans'. Existence of a Neolithic people, akin to tribes living around the Danube and Carpethian mountains, (supposed to be the original home of the Aryans), has been recently revealed in the mainland, which has led some scholars to suggest that "it seems possible that Aryans may have been resident in the peninsula long before the Homeric age and so were not northern invaders as modern criticism has asserted,"[3] and that the Achæans might themselves be Aryans. Might be, they were already a mixed populace.

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[1] Judges, iii. 5-6.

[2] Annett, p. 11; Beeton, p. 183 ; Breasted, p. 256.

[3] E. B., II. 537. ii.

[4] Ibid. II. 537. i.

[5] Ibid. p. 538.

[6] E. B., I. 215. For the contact of Crete and Cyprus with Syria and Cappadocia, vide Arthur Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, 1909, p. 67 f.

Arabia :—After carefully examining the anthropological data, of ancient as well as modern Arabia, Seligman suggests that the brachicephals, that predominate in the Southern Arabian population, "conform in skull-form and facial characters with the Mesopotamian type,"[4] at least since the beginning of the Christian era, and is akin to the Arab type in North Africa, which might have come there from Arabia. Dudley Buxton opining that this introduction of the round heads into Mesopotamia might have taken place at a much earlier period, says ; "The round-heads from Kish appear to me to be extremely similar to those which he (=Seligman) has figured from Southern Arabia."[5] In fact, "there was a kinship between the two countries at a much earlier date than was originally supposed."[6] We shall later give our reasons to prove that the broad-headed element in Risley's Scytho-Dravidians are probably due to the immigration into India, of a portion of round-headed population from Mesopotamia and S. Arabia,—not from Pamirs, as Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, followed by Giuffrida-Ruggeri, Dixon, H. C. Chakladar, etc., has sought to prove. Dr. Ghurye[7] shows Dr.

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[1] E. B., I. 120; 216; etc.

[2] E. B., I. 120.

[3] E. B., I. 216.

[4] Buxton, p. 105 f.

[5] Ibid, p. 106.

[6] Ibid.

[7] M. I., IV. 209 f.

Haddon had already postulated an immigration of the Alpine folks into India to account for the " strongly marked brachy-cephalic element in the population of western India." I feel, Dr. Ghurye rightly objects to Chanda's hypothesis " that if the Alpine people came through Kasmir and the Punjab, how is it that we have no trace of either brachy-cephaly or mesaticephaly in the intervening area till we come to Gujarat? Further, highest cephalic indices are recorded from the southern part of the region characterised by this type, i. e. from Bellary. The distribution of the type ... suggests quite a different route of immigration,—on the western coasts by sea."[1] Again, it would not be altogether unwise if we do not overlook the possibility of deriving the Brāhmī script from the " Sabean (sheba, a script of Southern Arabia), which in turn was derived from early Phœnician," as probably F. J. Richards seems to suggest.[2]

China :—Evidence from China has to be utilised for various reasons, though, I confess, I could not do justice to this question as to many others. Scholars like Sir E. B. Taylor opine that perhaps the "earliest money may have been the Chinese little marked cubes of gold and the pieces of copper in the shape of shirts and knives."[3] Again,—but this is not so generally recognized,—China (like India) owes considerably to Mesopotamia, so far as her early civilisation is concerned. Besides the knowledge of 27 constellations, there are many things that are common to both the Indians and the Chinese, and it seems quite possible that their origin lay in that mother-land of astrology, viz. Chaldæa. At all events, there seems to be a good deal of probability in the contention of M. Terrien de Lacouperie, that "the writing and some knowledge of arts, science and government of the early Chinese,...were derived from the old civilisation of Babylonia, through the secondary focus of Susiana." This derivation "was a social fact, resulting not from scientific teaching, but from practical intercourse of some length between the Susian confederation and the future civilisers of the Chinese, the Bak tribes, who from their neighbouring settlements in the N., moved eastwards at the time of the great rising of the XXIII cent. B.C."[4] He adds that his thesis is supported by Dr. J. Edkins, who adduces further proof to substantiate it. Elsewhere[5] he says :—" We could enumerate a long series of affinities between

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1. Ibid.
2. *Side-Lights on 'Dravidian Problem'*, p. 16.
3. Anthropology, II. 42.
4. *Babylonia and China*, in Academy, 7 August, 1880.
5. *Early History of the Chinese Civilisation*, p. 32.

Chaldæan culture and Chinese civilisation, although the last was not borrowed directly. From what evidence we have, it seems highly probable that a certain number of families or tribes, without any apparent generic name, but among which the Kutta filled an important position, came to China about 2500 B.C. These tribes came from the West, were obliged to quit the neighbourhood, probably north of the Susiana, and were comprised in the feudal agglomeration of that region, where they must have been influenced by the Akkado-Babylonian culture."[1]

"They brought with them a knowledge of writing and astronomy as well as the arts which primarily minister to the wants and comforts of mankind. The invention of these civilising influences is traditionally attributed to the Emperor Hwangte, who is said to have reigned from B.C. 2697–2597. But......in the Chinese palæographical collection he is described by a character composed of a group of phonetics which read Nak-kon-ti. The resemblance between this name and that of Nakhunte, who, according to the Susian texts, was the chief of the gods, is sufficiently striking, and many of the attributes belonging to him are such as to place him on an equality with the Susian deity."[2]

"If de Lacouperie's contention (afterwards followed up by C. J. Ball) is correct, that Sumerian, both tongue and writing, is an early form of Chinese, then their Mongolian origin would be proved. The likeness of certain Sumerian words to Turkish suggests that they may have been a prehistoric race from the Far East, of Turko-Mongolian origin from Tel-loh (Lagas in S. Babylonia), given in de Sarzec; and another example is bearded male in relief. Good grounds for the theory exist."[3] At any rate, it seems to be admitted even by cautious scholars that "the occurrence of a peculiar type of painted pottery in the excavations in Honan, similar to pottery formed on a few early sites in Central and Western Asia and in Eastern Europe, suggests the possibility of a remote cultural contact."[4]

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[1] Larned, I. p. 246.

[2] Ibid. p. 430.

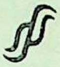
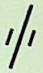
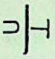
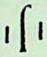
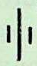
[3] ERE. XII. 40, col. ii.

[4] H. G. Wells, l. c., p. 176.

CHAPTER III

The Svastika

(1) *The Svastika*[1]:—also known as Gammadion or Fylfot-cross is one of the most widely prevalent of all signs, and is popular even to-day in many countries. Its occurrence on ancient funerary pottery as well as its Sanskritic name ('conferring welfare') suggests that it had some auspicious significance attributed to it by the simple primitive mind. What significance could it be? The query is answered by Thomas Wilson,[2] who says:—" Some authors have attributed a phallic meaning to it. Others have regarded it as representing the generative principle of mankind, making it the symbol of the female. Its appearance on the persons of certain goddesses Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, and the Chaldean Nana, the leaden goddess from Hissarlik, has caused it to be claimed as a sign of fecundity." The symbol in reality occurs in other connections as well; but their relation to the Great Mother is not as yet widely realised. Nay, it is not even perhaps well-known in India that Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, etc., are now recognized by western scholars only as forms of the same Mother Goddess, whose worship was borrowed by the Greeks and others, from people to whom they owed most of their civilisation. The latter on their part seem to have elaborated certain primitive conceptions, created myths and fictions out of natural phenomena, especially relating to the Sky Father and the Earth Mother. They were probably baffled by the fundamental problems of birth and death and their relation to sex, —that strong sentiment, whose inexorable forces, inexplicable though they were to them, were well observable not only in themselves but also in the wild roaming beasts of the jungle and the free birds of the air. Naturally, they assigned the origin of everything in the world to the action of the Divine pair, to whom they attributed all sorts of symbolic and mystic, may I say magic, qualities.

To return to the Svastika. Dr. Mackenzie says that it is regarded as "a phallic symbol, a symbol of female principle, a symbol of conception and birth,"[3] and so forth. Prof. Sayce definitely connects it with the worship of the Mother Goddess, saying that the "fact that it is drawn within the vulva of the leaden images of the Asiatic goddess seems to show that it was a symbol of generation. I believe that it is identical with the Cyprian characters  or  (nē) which has always the form  in the inscription of Golgi, and also with the Hittite  or [1] which Dr. Hyde Clarke once suggested to me was intended to represent the organ of generation."[2]

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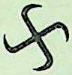
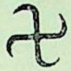
[1] For the Svastika, see:— Evans, I. 515; H. K. Deb, JASB., 1921, p. 231 f.; I. A., I. 303; VII. 176 f., IX. 67 f.; ERE. III. 327 f.; besides other works mentioned below.

[2] "The Swastika" (1898), p. 771.

[3] Mackenzie, p. 2.

Writing about the same specimen excavated by Dr. Schliemann on the hill of Hissarlik (the site of the ancient Ilium of the Greeks, about 3½ miles from the Hellespont, the traditional site of Homer's "Troy"), Dr. Mackenzie also says :—"Among the objects in lead special reference should be made to a figurine of the mother-goddess. It is somewhat conventional in design, like the terracotta figurine found in Cyprus, Mesopotamia and Greece, and those of marble and others found in the Cycladic Island ... The female characteristics are pronounced and *on the lower part of the body the Svastika or the hooked cross* is depicted on a V-shaped projection surrounded by fishes...".[3]

According to him " the Swastika on the lower part of the body is evidently a fertility symbol ". The Aegean Mother Goddess appears as a goat suckling Zeus, the child, "under the auspices of the Svastika. "[4] " Upon an Athenian vase in a burial scene, it appears thrice repeated before the funerary car. Upon a vase of Thera it accompanies the image of the Persian Artemis."[5] The Svastika is in fact found on the funerary pottery of numerous nations of antiquity. The connection of the Earth Goddess with the disposal of the dead, which will be briefly noted later on, bears out our conclusion. Dr. P. K. Acharya, in his Dictionary, equates the Svastika, *inter alia*, with " a kind of phallus " on the authority of Mānasāra.[6] I shall not wonder if the Svastika proves to be a combination of two serpents representing the male and female principles in Nature ; it occurs frequently in a curvilinear form such as  or  where it looks like the representation of two serpents crossing each other. Dr. Vogel informs us that "in one passage of Harivaṁśa, it (a serpent) is said to be half a svastika."[1] There is a symbolism called the double snake of Scandinavia, and the Svastika on the vulva of the Mother Goddess at Troy "was very much like the double snake-symbol."[2]

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[1] I should suggest that the sign I or ſ stands here for the male organ (liṅga) as on the ancient Indian coins, and that the smaller two parallel lines as well as the outer lines of the Cyprian character form the female organ. To me, therefore, it appears as representing the unification of the male and female principles in nature. But who knows if nē is not a short form of Nēnia (or Nina) ?

[2] ' The Swastika,' p. 776.

[3] *Crete and Pre-Historic Europe*, p. 237; also pp. 141 ff and 235 f.

[4] Glotz, p. 241.

[5] ERE. III. 327, col. i.

[6] *Dict. Hindu Archit.*, p. 732 f.; M. I. XII. 82.

Svastika became one of the commonest monetary symbols in the West, and it passed into the numismatic art of all the Mediterranean peoples.[3] Count Goblet d'Alviella goes to the length of attributing cradle of its birth to Troy where it originated "anterior to the 13th century B. C."[4] There can be no doubt of its popularity at that place, though it is highly venturesome to be so definite in ascribing the origin of this symbol to any particular locality.

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[1] Vogel, p. 27 ; Harivaṁśa, Vishṇu-parva, 18. 41:—'स्वस्तिकार्धविभूषिताः। द्विजिह्वपतयः... । ' For Nāgas with Svastika, see Vogel, p. 27; 83; 91; 171; etc. Also vide p. 218, where Svastika appears as the name of a Nāga ; Hopkins, p. 28 ; cf. Mbh. V. 103. 1 f. (Kumbh. ed. ; V. 101. 1 f., Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst. ed.):— 'सुरसायाः सुता नागा निवसन्ति गतव्यथाः। मणिस्वस्तिकचक्राङ्काः कमण्डलुकलक्षणाः ॥'

The serpents are represented here as the off-springs of Surasā, who is mentioned along with Aditi, Diti, Danu, Surabhi, Ilā, etc., among the wives of Kāśyapa. We shall later on show that Surasā, Aditi, etc., are mere epithets of the Mother Goddess, while Kāśyapa is none but the Sky Father.

[2] M. I., XII. 82 f. Elsewhere we learn that "the Svastika figuring in Mysore is exactly like that found at Troy." *Pre-Historic India*, Vol. I. p. 147–48. Perhaps, this may refer to the form which the Svastika assumes on Trojan spindlewhorls.

[3] ERE. III. 327, col. i.

[4] Larned, Vol. V, p. 3241.

CHAPTER IV

Fish

In association with the Svastika on the Trojan image of the Mother Goddess was found another symbol, whose relation to the fertility cult can be easily recognized. That symbol was fish. In the opinion of Principal Kalipada Mitra, the " V–shaped projection (on the image) emphasises the female principle. The fishes indicate the male. "[1] The Celestial Goddess worshipped at Uruk (modern Warka, near Euphrates) was referred to by the Sumerians as Nin–a ('Queen of the waters ' or ' lady of the waters '). This Nina, Nanai or Nana was also known as Esha, ' goddess of the fish-house. '[2] And " after the identification with Scorpio, she became Ishana, ' Heavenly goddess of the fish-house ', a word which survived as Ishara ". Delaporte informs us that her ' ideogram was a fish in the middle of a basin. '[3] We shall demonstrate later the connection of the Moon with the Father God and the Mother Goddess. At Uru or the Biblical Ur of the Chaldees (Ur-Kashdīm) known to the Arabs as al-Mugheir,[4] Nannar or Sin, the Moon-god,[5] was associated with a pair of fish, as with a sow or a goose, all of which are admittedly fertility symbols. In Babylonia, fish was connected with Ea or Enki, the patron deity of Eridu and the father of Inninna, the Mother Goddess.[6]

We learn from Artemidorus that fish was not eaten by the devotees of Astarte[7], for to her it was sacred. In Semitic mythology, Aphrodītē, the fish-goddess, " was worshipped as the bestower of all animal and vegetable fruitfulness, and under this aspect especially as a goddess of women."[8] " Every woman born in the country (of Babylonia) must enter once during her life-time the enclosure of the temple of Aphrodite, must there sit down, and unite herself to a stranger...Now among the Assyrians, Aphrodite is called Mylitta.’’[1] This strange custom, a sort of dedication of one’s chastity to the Goddess of fertility, was current in various forms in many countries. This leaves no doubt whatever that Aphrodite, the fish-goddess, was merely a form of the Great Mother.

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[1] M. I., XII. 82f.

[2] Langdon, p. 39; Mackenzie, p. 174–5.

[3] Delaporte, p. 142.

[4] It was from this town that Terah, Abram (Abraham), Lot and Sarai started "to go into the land of Canaan; and they came into Haran and dwelt there." (Gen. XI. 31). Sayce points out that the worship of Sin the Moon–god was common to both the towns, Uru and Haran (in Mesopotamia). Therefore, an inhabitant of Ur might well feel at home in Haran. Nannar of Uru seems to have been referred to by Cyrus in the book of Ezra (Bible) as Jehoveh (Jahveh, Yaw or Ywhw). The connection of these gods and goddesses, Sin, Nannar, Nana. Ishana, Esha, Ishara, Jahveh, etc. with Indian divinities may be dwelt upon later.

[5] Ur etc. 74–79; 143–44.

[6] Ibid. p. 140.

[7] ERE. II. 167.

[8] E. B., on Aphrodite; cf. D. C. A., p. 38f.

Ctesias, according to Strabo (xvi. 785), calls Astarte Derkētō; according to Eratosthenes, he tells that Derkētō or Derkētis, the Goddess of Syrīa (Syrīa Dēa), was saved by a fish at Bambyce (Hierapolis, the modern Membij or Membidj in Northern Syria); according to Hyginus, Ctesias says that a fish rescued Īsis (or Derketo) from the sea, and that the Syrians regard the fish as holy; according to Diodorus Siculus (ii. 4), he narrates a story about Derketo casting herself into a lake near Askelon (in Philistia), and assuming the form of a fish with a human face.[2] Herodotus calls this Derketo of Askelon ‘Urania Aphroditē’. The same story, perhaps in a mutilated form, seems to have been referred to by Xanthus (the Lydian contemporary of Ctesias) and Ovid[3] (A. D. 17), the latter assigning her to some locality in Palestine (Philistia). ‘‘Germanicus calls her ‘the Syrian Goddess’, Derketo and Atargātis, and tells the new information that she was changed into a fish’’[4] at Hierapolis (Membidj, Bambyce, or Mabbog). She is identified with Aphrodite in the Delos inscriptions (cf. xvi. 478, 785). ‘‘Cornutus (A. D. 68) records ... that fishes and doves were sacred to Atargatis, the goddess of the Syrians, and therefore was not eaten.’’[5] According to Pliny, Atargatis-Derketo of Hierapolis had a pond of sacred fish attached to her temple. Plutarch says that the goddess of Hierapolis was called Aphrodite or Hera, some taking her as a ‘‘divinity who out of moisture produces the seed of all things, and has shown men the way to all good things.’’[6] Urania Aphrodite is the ‘‘goddess of storm and lightning’’, and ‘‘of the shifting gale and changeful sky’’,[7] and she becomes the Goddess ‘‘of mere sensual love.’’[8] I have little doubt that she is to be identified with Abhrayantī mentioned as the name of a mother goddess in a Brāhmaṇa text. But to this I shall turn later. We may only note here that Urania is a title of Ashtart or Ashtarte.[1]

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[1] Herod. i. 199; cf. Strabo, xvi, p. 1058; Deloporte, p. 88; *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 640: etc. Dubois, l. c., p. 596; 114; 133; 286 f. This Aphrodite of Herodotus is unanimously identified with Ishtar, the daughter of the sky-father Anu or of the moon-god Sin. The *Iliad* represents Aphrodite as a daughter of Zeus (a sky-father). NCM. p. 92; SCD. p. 54.

[2] ERE. II. 165-66.

[3] Ibid. 166, col. i.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid. col. ii.

[7] D. C. A., p. 39, col. i.

[8] Ibid. col. ii.

In brief, to the Syrians (Aramæans) and Philistines, Aphrodite-Atargatis (also called Hera or Derketo) represented as a fish-goddess 'the fructifying powers of water' and she was a goddess of love and beauty,[2] to whom dolphin was sacred, as was also the tortoise. It may not be at present realised that this quality was taken over from her by river-goddesses like Gangā and Yamunā, with their symbols of *makara* and *kūrma*. But it may be granted that at least in the western countries like Syria and Palestine, which had, of course, borrowed much of their mythology from Mesopotamia if not from Egypt, the same Mother Goddess was worshipped under differnt names. She played diverse roles appearing sometimes as a river-goddess, or a fountain-nymph, or a fish-goddess. And to all her forms, fish was sacred.

And so was it to Artemis, whose "proper domain" was that of Nature, in all her gentle and terrific aspects. She had power over "hills and valleys, woods, meadows, rivers, and fountains"; so to propitiate her, human sacrifices had to be performed. She was only a lunar form of the blood-thirsty Magna Mater, and she appears at times with the tale of a fish.[3]

As among the Greeks, so among the Aegeans the Mother Goddess was the mistress of fish.[4] On geometric potsherd from Bœstia, the Goddess is depicted with a fish hanging in front in the middle from just below the waist, and around her are to be found half a dozen of Svastikas.[5] Probably the fish here denoted the male organ (linga). There were sacred fish also at the famous Syrian sea-port of Myra.[6]

In India, too, fish are looked upon with reverence, some of them being "believed to contain the souls of the dead; all varieties are emblems of fertility, are therefore used in marriage rites."[7] The significance of fish in the religious rites pertaining to marriages of the Āos, the Chongīs, the Lohārs of the U. P.,[8] as well as of the Bengālis may, therefore, be now apparent. Fish was sacred to

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1. ERE. II. 118. i.
2. E. B. on 'Aphrodite'.
3. D. C. A., p. 71. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*.
4. Glotz, p. 245.
5. Camb. A H., Vol. I of Plates.
6. Modern Dembe, a town in Lycia, situated between the rivers Myrus and Andracus, which Theodosius II made a capital.
7. ERE. V. p. 9.
8. MI. IV. 41 f.; XII. 82 f., 102 f.; etc.

the Mother-Goddess for more than one obvious reasons. It was her symbol, through which she was to receive her worship : and she was the Goddess of wedded love and fertility. That is why fish is taboo to a Bengali widow, and is to be held in her hand by a Bengali bride in performing marriage rites. Mīnākshī ("fish-eyed one") is only an epithet of the Goddess, for she could have for her eye a thing that was sacred to her. Mīna (=Fish) forms one of the *pañchamakaras* (' five *m*s ') of the *vāma-mārgin Śāktas*, a section of Indian devotees of the Mother-Goddess, who have kept up faithfully most of the barbaric traditions connected with her worship in all their pristine purity. The Indian god of love is *makara-dhvaja* ('dolphin-bannered') *mīna-ketana* ('fish-bannered '),[1] just as among the Greeks, cupid appears on a dolphin.

A dormitory of Nuforese (New Guinea), used as a sleeping place by bachelors, has its supporting pillars, adorned with figures of "crocodiles, snakes, and fishes", or having male or female figures with "exaggerated pudenda". Moreover, on the eastern side of the building, and outside it, are two pairs of rude wooden statues, each pair representing a man and a woman in the conjugal act ; other parts of the buildings also are adorned with "suggestive carvings".[2] This also explains by the way the significance of the figures of crocodiles found on some Mohenjo-daro seals and on some punch-marked coins : They like other symbols were auspicious, because they were intimately connected with the Auspicious Goddess Bhagā.[3] That crocodile images at any rate signified phalli is clear enough. "In the village temple of Langgadopi sexual intercourse was represented by the union of the detached organs", and "they were accompanied by images of crocodiles."[4]

It may also be suggested that Draupadī's vow, not to marry any who does not hit aright the fish-eye target, may not be altogether without any ulterior significance. Nor is it without meaning that the ceremony of avataraṇa-maṅgala has to be performed in connection with a woman carrying a child (witness the instance of Vilāsavatī in the Kādambarī), by means of waters of ablution containing fishes.[5]

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[1] Amara-kośa, st. 27. For *makara* as a vāhana of Pārvatī, cf. E. H. Ic., p. 120 ; 360 ; Burgess, Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in Gujarat, 1888, pl. XX fig. 11.

[2] ERE. IX. 816. ii.

[3] *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, 36, 14 ; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, I. 10. 20.

[4] ERE. IX. 817. i.

[5] Kādambarī (Parab's ed. Śaka 1854) p. 137 :—'...अखण्डिताननमत्स्यपटलैश्च... ...क्रियमाणावतरणमङ्गलाम् ।'

The Buddhist deity Hārītī, having 500 sons, was once worshipped in Bengal and one of her images from Paikpara (in Dacca District) has four hands. The upper left hand holds a fish and the upper right hand has a drinking bowl. With the two normal hands she holds a baby on her lap. She appears to be a Buddhist version of the Mother Goddess. It is, therefore, concluded that the fish has here a fertility significance.[1] The *linga* is generally supported by the sacred *yoni* : we see this in temples, and this has an authority from the sacred texts themselves. But "Fransis Buchanan noticed at Mer a linga supported by a fish."[2] Probably, the fish was here identified with the *yoni*.

Terracotta figurines of Vasudhārā (Vasundharā or Vasudhā, the Earth Goddess) found at Mathurā are known to hold a pair of fish.[3] Vasudhārā finds an easy parallel in the Ægean Goddess mentioned above. Fish was one of the eight auspicious symbols in Jainism and was thought to symbolise fertility and vegetative prosperity.[4] I may add that the excavations, recently carried out at Rairh (in Jaipur) by the late Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni and subsequently by Dr. Puri (under whom I was working), have exhumed hundreds of terracotta figurines of the Mother Goddess, many of these holding fish in their hands.[5] Fish is also depicted at the bottom of certain votive tanks found there; indeed, one of the two symbols, that were most popular there, was the Svastika.

At most of the sacred places in N. India, e.g. Hardwar, Mathura, Benares—and I may add Matan (Kashmir)—etc., fish, preserved in tanks, are held sacred.[6] This fish symbol was also observable on some pottery recently excavated at Ramnagar. Sometimes they were found there in pairs. In other places, too, such symbols might have been found, if they had been carefully noted by the excavators. In China, Yin and Yang, the male and the female principles of creation, are represented by the symbol of two fishes. "Double fishes occur as a lucky sign on ancient pottery and other objects of China."[1] We have already referred to the tunny-fish appearing on the early coins of Cyzicus (a town in Mycia, Asia Minor). It was "adorned with fillet showing that it is dedicated to the local deity," which was undoubtedly a form of the Mother Goddess, as we shall see in the course of this thesis. The *vesica piscis* (the 'almond'[2] sign of Theobald and the eye-symbol of Pt. Durga Prasad)[3] is already recognized on Assyrian gems as an emblem of Ishtar, and is in later times frequently used for Virgin Mary (cf. Kumārī).

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[1] M. I., XII. p. 108 f.

" The popularity of this cult (of Hārītī in northern India) is fully vouchsafed by the discovery of numerous sculptures in the various archæological sites excavated there ; she is some times depicted singly along with her children, while at other times accompanied by her consort Kubera...as well as her playing children." I. H. Q. XIV. 104 ; cf. Antiquity, XI. 72 f., where her consort Kubera is connected with the Greek word Cabiri, Kabeiros, to indicate his fertility character.

[2] M. I., XII 82 f.

[3] V. S. Agrawala, *Mathura Terracotta,* p. 33, fig. 48. These are only modifications of the figurines of the Ægean Goddess.

[4] Ibid. p. 29 f.

[5] At least one type found here is identical with the one having " a conspicuous jewelled girdle (mekhalā)" (*Mathura Terracotta,* p. 29, fig. 27). Sanskrit literature also lays much stress on the girdle of the Goddess, as on her kuṇḍalas. We should remember here the magic girdle of Aphrodite.

[6] ERE. V. p. 9.

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[1] M. I., XII. p. 108.

[2] ERE. III. p. 700, col. ii.

[3] Theobald, p. 229, fig. 19$, 199, etc.; Durgaprasad, p. 33; fig. 110–116. cf. Mīnākshī. Even if they be eyes as Pt. Durgaprasad contended, we have the authority of the Brāhmaṇas to identify ambaka (eye) in the word Tryambaka with Ambikā the Mother Goddess.

CHAPTER V

Nāga

The snake is already accepted by many scholars as being intimately connected with fertility cult since times immemorial. "As an animal dwelling in holes in the earth, its chthonic character was suggested ;—it was the cause of fertility (also because it was thought to give or withhold water), and because the embodiment of fertility daimon or earth-spirit, hence also a guardian of hidden treasure or metals[1]......Myths connected the serpents with waters, either because some species lived in or near them, or in marshy ground, or because the sinuous course and the appearance of the serpent resembled those of a river."[2] So what is called a 'river-symbol' may perhaps carry the same significance as a snake-symbol.

It is not known whether serpent-worship was actually prevalent in the palæolithic period, though it is, no doubt, figured along with other animals by the palæolithic artists. It is not impossible, however, that some sort of magic was associated with these drawings. By the mesolithic times, it had become a symbol,—as in Mas d'Azil (at the foot of the Pyrenees, about fifteen miles N. W. of Foix, France), where it appears along with other marks on painted pebbles.[3] Here by a good many scholars it is regarded as a "material manifestation of an advance in religious belief on the earlier magic of the Aurignacian" man of Upper Palæolithic period. In China, it is the giver of rain, while in Egypt it was an embodiment of Rannut, the goddess of fertility and harvest, as also of other goddesses like Mertseker (of Thebes), Būtō, Uazet or Uatchet (of the city of Būtō in lower Egypt), Nekhebet (guardian deity of upper Egypt), etc. "It was associated with Isis[4] and Nephthys, because these goddesses were later identified with Uazet, the *uræus*-goddess who was gradually absorbed into all the goddesses. Hence, all the goddesses were adorned with or represented by the uræus, or as a serpent a goddess was associated with a god."[1] Again, Qēb (or Seb) the Egyptian god of earth, was a master of snakes and had a serpent's head[2]. He is no doubt to be identified with the Indian consort of the Mother Earth, Śiva, as we shall see later.

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[1] Compare AV. XII. 1. 44-46 :—" निधिं बिभ्रती बहुधा गुहा वसु मणिं हिरण्यं पृथिवी ददातु मे । वसूनि नो वसुदा रासमाना देवी दधातु सुमनस्यमाना । ...सहस्रं धारा द्रविणस्य मे दुहां ध्रुवेव धेनुरनपस्फुरन्ती ॥ यस्ते सर्पः...गुहा शये । क्रिमिर्जिन्वत्पृथिवि यद्यदेजति प्रावृषि तन्नः सर्पन्मोप सृपद्यच्छिवं तेन नो मृड ॥ "

[2] ERE. XI. 399 f.

[3] Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. p. 16.

[4] The most popular of all the mother goddesses of the Egyptian mythology, she represents the receptive and productive principle in nature, and rules in heaven, on earth and over the sea. Her chief attributes are "a serpent, cornucopia, ears of corn," etc. (D. C. A., p. 324-325 ; Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. p. 30).

In Babylonia, among the emblems of boundary stones of farms, villages, etc., serpents figure prominently, and probably symbolised the protector of the village or the guardian of the field, Ninni, Innina, Anunit or Nanai, whose name is interchangeable with that of the snake. The pictograph used to denote her name in the Sumerian language was "a serpent twining on a staff."[3] Another *usumgal* or *usumgallu* (Great Serpent) of heaven and earth in Babylonian mythology was the mother goddess of Nippur, Nin-lil, the consort of Enlil.[4] Sala or Schala, the consort of Rimmon (also called Hadad), had too a name meaning 'a goddess of reptiles'. These and many other goddesses are connected with the underworld, and like Cretan divinities, they may hold serpents in their hands or be otherwise associated with them.[5] Correctly speaking, the Nude Goddess appears under a variety of titles, which may not be taken for different deities at all. Even the seemingly different father-gods in Mesopotamia assuming the form of Ea or of Tammuz, are originally one, having an important attribute in the serpent; but this is perhaps yet to be well realised even among the Assyriologists, though Langdon, Mackenzie and others have greatly strengthened this view. Correctly speaking, the religion of that region, as also that of Egypt, oscillated like the Purāṇic Hinduism between Pantheism, Henotheism and Polytheism.

" On the Mycenean calenders of the Cyprus, the goddess of Paphos is associated with a pillar entwined by a serpent."[6] "At Knossos in both Palaces, at Gournia, at Prinias from M. M. III to the Hellenic period, the goddess appears covered with reptiles that climb up her arms and bust, coil in her hair, and rear themselves over her head."[7] On the pediment of an ancient temple in Corfu

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1. ERE. XI. 399 f. For example, at Heracleopolis, there was a shrine to Nehebkan, who was a "serpent-goddess, symbolising the female principle." Mackenzie, '*Egyptian Myth and Legend*', p. 191.
2. ERE. XI. 399 f. 3. Langdon, p. 108 f.
4. Mackenzie, p. 105-106.
5. ERE. XI. 399 f.: Evāns, I. p. 500 f.; II. 322.; 540 f.; etc. Camb, A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. p. 118 f.
6. ERE. XI. p. 399 f.
7. Glotz, p. 248; Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. p. 116 f.

(Kerkura or Korphous), the largest Ionian island, Pausanias of Lydia found an image of Artemis holding serpents in her hands.[1]

The Canaanite[2] Ashtart also held a serpent in her hands; and the serpent dragon in Hebrew[3] and Arab belief was connected with wells, as well as with giving and withholding waters of fountains, rivers, etc. In Syria, springs are named after serpents, and as in Palmyra[4] (=Tadmor, referred to in Tiglath-Pileser I's inscription as "Tadmar which is in the land of Amurru"), a female serpent dwells in a spring and can hinder its flow. In Greece, the snake as a chthonian animal,—'a son of the earth',—was associated with fertility, and was worshipped in sanctuaries as symbolising Asklepios; it was kept in those sanctuaries to be fed by virgin priestesses, who were to approach them on special occasions after putting off their garments. It was a guardian of graves. Python, son of Gaia the Mother Earth, "always represented in the form of a snake, is the symbol of the old earth divinity, whose home was the place of 'enquiry'."[5] The Earth was thus mother of a serpent. It is alleged that the snake of the Cretan goddess was also inherited by the Greek goddess of vengeance named Erīnyes,[6] a daughter of Gaia, sprung of the blood of the mutilated Uranus. This may, therefore, mean that Erīnyes represents only a terrible aspect of the

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[1] ERE. XI. 399 f.

[2] "And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth : and Ham *is* the father of Canaan." (Gen. ix. 18; also see x. 6).

[3] "And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth,
And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite,
......And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza ; as thou goest, unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha." (Gen. x. 15–19 ; cf. Chronicles, i. 13 f.).

These very important extracts, to which we shall have to refer again, sre clear enough. Names of tribes have been here crammed into a genealogical list, and the same phenomenon is quite common in the early dynastic lists of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Hardly anybody in the scholarly world of the west has believed in the absolute veracity of the Hebraic tradition. But it is the tragic lot of the Indians that the vaṁśāvalis of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus (given by our "Itihāsa" and Purāṇa tradition), which often mention names of tribes as names of historical persons, have not evoked any serious challenge. Simple facts that the Kurus are philologically and in other ways related to the Purus or Pūrus (a tribe known to the Vedic Aryan) and that the Pāṇḍus were a very well-known tribe in the days of Pāṇini and Megasthenes, are ignored.

[4] ERE. XI. 399 f.; situated on an oasis, about 85 m. E. of Homs, 120 m. NE. of Damascus, this "city of palms" (?) occupied an advantageous position for trade with Babylon, and gained in importance under Assyrian rule. According to 2 Chronicles 8·4, Solomon "built Tadmor in the wilderness".

[5] E. B., on 'Apollo'.

[6] ERE. XII. 139 f.

Divine Mother: it is natural for a mother goddess to be her own daughter. The Celtic serpent, ram-headed, accompanies a goddess of fertility on a monument at Epimal. To Athēnē, a form of the Greek Mother Goddess, corresponding to Indian Jayā or Vijayā, were dedicated at Erechthewn serpents that were fed monthly with honey cakes.[1] On certain coins from Eleusis, Demētēr is represented riding in " a car drawn by two serpents".[2]

Thus serpent wor ship prevails in most countries, where beliefs connected with the fertility cult exist or where Mother-Goddess is worshipped. Again, most of these aspects in connection with the serpent-worship find their parallel in India, as can be amply demonstrated from Vogel's *Serpent Lore* as from other works on that subject.

The serpent entwines her here[3] as in Crete, Canaan and elsewhere, and is or was associated with fertility, dreams, netherworld, primæval waters, fountains and so forth. We often find a snake encircling a *liṅga* on the *yoni-paṭṭa*, or otherwise lying in it at the narrower end of the yonipaṭṭa.[4] "In some specimens a miniature liṅga, evidently meant as a symbol of procreation is carved on the expanded hood"[5] of a serpent, done up in the round. Śakti Devī, who has hundreds of *pīṭhas* spread all over India, has very often, as at Chitrari in the Chamba State, a serpent in her hand. The cult of earth goddess, like Ellammā (recognized as a fertility divinity) or her impersonation Mātaṅgī, is associated with snake symbols. In Purāṇas, Durgā is styled as Nāgeśvarī, Gonasābharaṇā or Bhujaṅga-veshṭita-śarīrā,[6] as also Śākambharī or Annapūrṇā. Under these latter names she is worshipped, according to Tod, by the Rajputs, who are also devotees of the phallic cult of Eka-liṅgajī and adore mythical Nāga-kings like Tejajī, Gugā, Pīpā,[7] etc. Pushkara lake, near Ajmer, is provided with a 'remarkable' Nāga legend.[8] In Gujarat, Central Provinces, Mahārāshṭra, etc., in connection with the Śilā-saptamī-pūjā (when seven mother goddesses in the form of seven stones are worshipped), tales are told which refer to childbirth, worship of tank, etc., vouchsafing for the listener abundant progeny. There is sufficient material to prove that serpent-worship was greatly in vogue in Kathiawar and Gujarat.[1]. "Among the Komaṭis of Mysore women worship snake images set up in performance of vows and believed to be specially efficacious in curing sores and giving children." There is a general belief – this is a pet notion with the astrologers as well – that if a married woman sees in her dreams a moving serpent (or even a river, etc., having running water – and thus resembling a snake), she conceives ! Hence, serpent-worship is "often performed at marriages, as among the Bedars of the Deccan, by married women, by Brāhmaṇas in Kanara, by Lombaḍis in Madras." Vogel says that in the whole of western and southern India the cobra is worshipped upto the present day by women, who are desirous of offspring.[2] Capt. J. Mackenzie says "that in Gaurīpūjā, women of all Hindu classes and creeds" adore the serpent, as it is supposed to remove their barrenness.[3] Vogel draws attention to a *jātaka* where people are said to "crave for sons by his (a Nāga's) aid, and having faith in him and doing him worship." The Avadāna-śataka prescribes a number of deities for a childless man to worship. The first and foremost is Rāmadevatā[4] (evidently a misreading for Grāmadevatā, the village Mother-Goddess, and not a misreading of Nāga-devatā, as Dr. Vogel suggests). All this definitely connects the Mother-Goddess with serpents. The connection of the serpents with tanks, lakes, etc., is amply illustrated by *numerous* tales about Nāgas, Nāga-kanyās or Phaṇi-kanyās, etc., in the folklore of India, in the Mahābhārata, in the works of Fa Hien, Yuan Chwang, etc., as well as in Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī*.[5] Any one who goes to Kashmir cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that most of the fountains (chashmās), streams, etc., are there still associated with the name of some Nāga. A serpent is regarded there as a patron deity of a fountain, etc., which is consequently named after him (cf. Anant Nāg, Bheri Nāg, etc.). Such fountains are regarded as *tīrthas* sacred especially for the followers of Śaivite worship. It is here that we find even to this day means to realise the exact meaning of 'Ahi' so often mentioned in the Ṛig-veda, as protecting waters. In Goa, too, springs are often known as Nāga-jharīs.[1] According to the Gṛihya-sūtras, the time for the serpent rite is rainy season.[2]

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[1] *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 163.

[2] IA. 1886·64.

[3] E. H. Ic., p. 364–365, 369 etc. ; Mbh. IV. 6. 13, etc.

[4] Here it signifies as it were (to speak in medical dialect), the spermatozoon or the male fertilising element in Nature.

[5] Vogel, p. 271 ; cf. I. A., 1875. 5 f.

[6] Agni, p. 145. 10 ; 134·1; 135. 1; 144. 32 f. :—'कर्कोटो मेखलास्थितः। तक्षकेणोपरिष्टाच्च गले हारश्च वासुकिः ॥ etc.

[7] *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthana*, I. 455 ; 580 ; etc.

[8] ERE. X. 566, col. 2.

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[1] Vogel, 267; I. A., I. 6 f.; IV. 83 f.; 193 f.; G. W. Watson, 'Places of Snakeworship in Kathiawar.'

[2] Vogel, p. 19.

[3] I. A., 1875. 5.

[4] Vogel, p. 19.

[5] Cf. R. T., I. 111:—'संस्तभ्याम्भः प्रविष्टेन तेन नागसरोन्तरम् । तारुण्यं फणिकन्यानां निन्ये सम्भोगभव्यताम् ॥' I. 167; cf. also Vogel, p. 3.; 7 f.; 94 f.; 220 f.; etc. Stein's interesting note on R. T., I. 30. Also cf. 'यः फणीन्द्रसुतया सहाग्रहीद्राजचिह्नमखिलं यशोधनः ।' occurring in some inscriptions of the Pallavas of Kāñchī.

The Goddess is to be invoked, according to some Tāntric text, as Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Mātaṅgī, etc., in connection with snake-bites, when some paste of the leaves of certain medical herbs mixed with the juice of Kumārī plant is to be smeared, in the uda-kumbha-vidhāna ceremony.[3] Again, she may appear under the name of Manasā (the sister of Vāsuki and the mother of snakes), who is worshipped in Bengal Chota Nagpur etc., especially in the last days of Śrāvaṇa. "She has snakes on her lap and seven snake-hoods behind her,"[4] and she blesses the world and protects its inhabitants from her sons, the vicious snakes. Manasā fulfils all wishes of her devotees and gives money and progeny when she is pleased. She is comparable among others to Greek Gaia, the serpent-mother.

In fact, there is hardly any aspect of the Goddess worship in relation to the serpent, that is found in western nations of old, but is not found in India. And whether we "meet serpent-worship either in the wilderness of Sinai, the groves of Epidauros, in Sarmatian huts, or Indian temples, the serpent is always the Agathodæmon, the bringer of health and good fortune."[5] Agathodæmon was a benevolent spirit of the corn-field and vineyard according to Grecian tradition, and was often represented in the form of a serpent, with its head surrounded by solar rays, hovering about the sacred sista.[6] The correct significance of the solar rays in its connection may be made clear below.

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1. M. R., 1922, July, p. 42.
2. Vogel, p. 11 f.
3. नमो वैडूर्यमाने हुलुहुलु रक्ष मां सर्पविषेभ्यः।
   गौरि गान्धारि चाण्डालि मातङ्गि स्वाहा ॥
4. JBORS, XII. 428. Burgess is quite right in identifying the snake-hooded figure of Limboji Mātā at Delmal with Durgā (ASWI. IX, 88; cf. Sankalia *The Arch. of Gujarat*, p. 147). It can neither be gainsaid that Manasā was the same as Durgā; for this is vouchsafed by Sanskrit texts.
5. J. Fergusson, *Tree-and-Serpent-Worship* p. 3. According to Herodotuss Lycian priests told Crœsus that the snake is the child of Earth. Says Artemidoros :—"A child of Earth he is, and in the earth he dwells." Pliny also state, that the serpents at Tiryns were supposed to have "sprung from the earth." A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III.
6. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 163. The name of a Mexican war-god, Huitzilopochtli (who was also a serpent-god of lightning), viz. Coatlicue, signifies the Female Serpent; she is an earth-goddess. NCM. p. 85 f.; 37.

CHAPTER VI

Connection of the Indian Goddess with Her Western Counterparts

Thus, closest parallels to Vedic myths relating to serpent, etc., are perhaps to be found in the legends of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Crete, Asia Minor (Cappadocia), etc., where the cult of the Mother Goddess was very much in vogue; and *ahi* (serpent) is a very familiar figure in Vedic literrture. So, it may be asked if any worship of the Mother Goddess or the Earth Goddess was known to the Vedic Aryans. Answer to this question is already given by us, when we quoted references from the Ṛig-veda to the Sky Father and the Earth Mother. But there are people who would doubt this!

Words like Taimāta, Uru-Gūlā, Yahva,[1] Manā, Apsu, and possibly Viligi, Urvaśī, etc.[2] (as well as Bekanāṭa[3] and others), seem to be —inspite of Dr. A. Berriedale Keith's contention—something like 'loan words' in the Vedic language, most of these from the tongues prevailing in those regions, with which intimate eommercial contact seems to have been firmly established in the second or third Millenium B.C. (or perhaps even earlier), as is becoming increasingly clear from the archæological finds of India and abroad.

It has been almost an article of faith for most of the Vedic students to attribute complete ignorance of the sea to the Ṛig-vedic Aryan, in spite of the frequent use of the word 'samudra' in the hymns he chanted. It is cleverly suggested that the word 'samudra' may here mean nothing more than mere 'collection of water'. A boat must belong to some 'collection of water;' what point is there then in referring to *nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ*,[4] if the word means nothing more than that? If *samudra* here signified some river (as that word is generally supposed to mean in its extended application), even then there was hardly any necessity of specifically referring to the boats of samudra (in the sense of a 'river'); for, then, the Vedic Aryan did not know any other boats but those in a river. I believe, these scholars would not put forth a fantastic argument that there were other boats, belonging to lakes, etc., of which the Vedic Aryan might have been aware, and that from these boats it is that he distinguishes the boats belonging to the river. In conjunction with this word occurs, at least in three or four *Ṛiks*, another word for the sea, *arṇava*, which, it is forgotten, renders that assumption fantastic.[1] Still, while denying any knowledge of the sea to the Aryans,[2] some would not hesitate to identify Ūrjjyantī mentioned in the Ṛig-veda with Mt. Urjayant (Girnar) in Kathiawar ! Blind prejudice can hardly go any further. Such scholars entirely ignore the well-considered views of Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda that "After the discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro the controversy relationg to the significance of the term *samudra* in the Ṛig-veda must be considered as closed....It is quite possible that the Ṛishis or priest-poets, who composed the hymns of Ṛig-veda, derived their information about the sea from these older inhabitants of the southern Punjab."[3]

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[1] The derivation of "Yahva" from the root "yabh" (= to unite sexually) would, perhaps, make clear his identification with 'bull', the symbol of manly strength and virility. We shall explain the word Uru-Gūlā by the end of this thesis.

[2] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 29. (Tilak's article).

[3] The Philological connection between Bekanāṭa and Bikaner is nil ;-ner is to be derived from nagara. Our wonder is how such eminent scholars as Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, Brunnhofer, Hillebrandt, etc. should have seriously entertained this idea. (Camb. H. I., I. 87 ; V. M., 258. n. 1 ; V. I., I. 73 ; cp. JRAS. 1924. 439f. JAOS. XVII. 44 ; RV., VIII. 66. 10 :—'इन्द्रो विश्वान्बेकनाटानहर्दृशउत क्रत्वा पणीँरभि ।' cf. Nirukta, VI. 26. 2 ; Avestan Vaekareta, for which see Cun.'s AGI. (S. N. Majumdar's ed.), p. 44 f. ; Camb. H. I., I. p. 327 ; etc.

[4] RV., I. 25. 7.

Inspite of all this close contact with the western world where that cult was so much in vogue, as well as despite the intimate relation of the snake-worship and the *yoni* cult, it would be indeed wonderful if the so-called Vedic Aryan kept himself in complete ignorance of that cult. It would be novel to suggest that the Aryan came like a conqueror and lived star-like aloof from the conquered Dasyus (known in modern parlance as the ' blackies '). To assume that he retained the purity of his blood from these hated *śiśna-devas*, and that he was pious enough not to touch the female folk of the tribes he met with, in his triumphant march towards the Indus, is to betray utter ignorance of the psychology of primitive conquerors. No careful student of anthropology would argue this wise. In fact, Dr. Keith himself is willing to admit the prevalence of *liṅga*-worship in certain sections of the Vedic Aryans.[4] The equation of the Earth with Kadrū or with Sarpa-rājñī (the Queen of serpents, the prototype of Manasā) is almost a constant feature in the Brāhmaṇas.[1] Yet,—if we so wish,—it can be conveniently brushed aside on the ground of our own assumption, that the Brāhmaṇas are *much* later in time than the Vedas, and consequently much removed in spirit. And as a special case, we can exempt the Vedic Aryan from the general rule relating to primitive men that they are very conservative by nature !

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[1] RV., I. 19. 7; X. 58. 5; X. 190. 1–2. In the phrase *nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ*, the Vedic Aryan probably meant to refer to sea-faring boats, as against ordinary river-boats. He also refers to a hundred-oared boats, such as those depicted on Egyption monuments.

[2] Such scholars, I am afraid, perhaps deserve the criticism levelled against them in this respect, by the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya, who first pointed out the use of *arṇava* in juxtaposition to *samudra*, in a Ṛig-vedic hymn, in his Hist. Sans. Lit.

[3] Mem. A. S. I., No. 31, p. 2.

[4] Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, Vol. I. p. 129.

Fortunately for us, Prof. Jean Przyluski has dispelled for good this long-standing illusion about the ignorance of the Goddess-cult among the Vedic Aryans. He has shown that Aditi, whose " name is not limited to the latest portion (of the Ṛig-veda), but occurs throughout the collection ",[2] is really the Great Goddess, the mother of gods and of all the universe : Her name variously appears as A-s-ti-ra-tu (Thothmes III's annals), Ash-tar-tu (Amarna tablets and a Babylonian tablet), Ishtar (Sumero-Babylonian), Astarte (Phoenician), ' Athtar (S. Arabian), Ashtoreth (Old Testament), ' Astar (Abyssinia), ' Ashtar (Moab), ' Ashtar(t) (Canaan), ' Attar or ' Atar (Syrian or Aramaic) ' Atargatis (= Atar + Ate), and probably 'Hat-hor (Egyptian) (?), etc. And though this suggestion is vehemently opposed by Dr. Keith[3] (who, one does not know why, follows Macdonell in regarding *Aditeḥ putrāḥ* as the earliest expression occurring in her connection, and who, consequently, does not recognise her independent existence before that of her sons),[1] it is entirely borne out by a vast mass of internal evidence, Vedic, as well as Brāhmaṇic and post-Brāhmaṇic. Besides, all traditional interpretations, such as those of Yāska and Sāyaṇa[2], favour it; while her equation with 'Devamātā' or 'Pṛithivī' in the Ṛig-Veda itself, together with her connection with words like Yahva,[3] Urūchī or Uru-vyachā,[4] etc., distinctly upsets Dr. Keith's conclusions. If Aditi is really "freedom" (literally, 'without bondage' according to Macdonell and Keith), one wonders why she should be putrakāmā, and should repeatedly 'conceive'.[5] Nighaṇṭu gives Nanā, Aditi, Ilā, Mahī, etc. as synonyms of Vāk. Mr. Vasudev S. Agrawala[6] has rightly pointed out the connection between Nanā-Aditi and 'a great Sumerian mother goddess' whose name is variously given as "Nanā, Innannā, Ninā, Anunit", Nanai, etc., and who became the patron-deity of Nineveh. Nanā, according to both Yāska[2] and Sāyaṇa,[3] stands, in the Vedic literature, for mother as well as daughter. I should point out that 'nonī' in Chattisgarhi dialect[4] and 'nenī' in Maithilī language[5] stand for a girl or a daughter. Nina, Nanai or Nana, the Mother Goddess of Uruk (Warka) was a *daughter* of Anu, "the Father and king of the Gods, the God per excellence in fact".[6] The fact is that she is both the Mother and the Virgin-Daughter (corresponding to Indian Kanyā-Kumārī).[7] The Mother Goddess appears in this double role in many countries. The traditional meaning of the word 'nanā', given by Yāska and Sāyaṇa, has thus behind it an authority going to pre-historic times, and explains the otherwise insoluble puzzle, contained in the famous lines of the creation myth in the Ṛig-veda:– "Aditer-Daksho = jāyata, Dakshād-v-Aditiḥ pari."[8] I am inclined to identify Anu with Daksha for various reasons. According to Delaporte, that Sumerian god "inhabits the Summit of the vault of heaven, the heaven of Anu."[9] Sir Wallis Budge opines that "His (i. e., Anu's) position astronomically was the Equator of Heaven and his number was the perfect Sixty."[10] Methinks, he is the Sky Father. We may remember here that Daksh-Prajāpati had, according to Purāṇic mythology, sixty daughters,[11] that the word *Dākshāyaṇīs* stands for the twenty-seven constellations in Sanskrit, they being regarded as Daksha's daughters,[12] and that Daksha, as

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[1] ' इयं कद्रूः । '—Ś. B., III. vi. 2. 2.
' इयं वै सर्पराज्ञीयं वै सर्पतो राज्ञी । '
—A. B., V. 23 ; T. B., I. iv. 6. 6 ; K. B., 27. 4.
' देवा वै सर्पाः । तेषामियं राज्ञी । ' —T. B., II. ii. 6. 2. ; etc.

The last quotation shows that the gods were looked upon at least in the Brāhmaṇa period as so many serpents.

[2] V. M., p. 20—Aditi is mentioned 80 times in the R. V. according to Macdonell. But another author after a detailed study avers :—" the word *aditi* occurs about one hundred and forty times in the Ṛig-veda. The term seems to refer to the Goddess Aditi in more than hundred passages, where she has been invoked or incidentally mentioned either alone or with other deities." (JASB. 1932, p. 15). There is no reason to suppose that the word Aditi occurs in any passage except in the sense of 'the Great Goddess.' This will, however, be clear to some at least, after a considerable portion of this thesis is read. The passages wherein it occurs are to be read in proper context and with an open mind. This cult theory, if admitted, should give us food for reflection, whether in the question of attribution of the Indus-valley Civilisation to non-Aryans or Aryans of the Vedic times, we can base our arguments on the prevalence of phallic cult. The Hittites, the Phrygians, etc. knew phallic worship, while the earliest strata of the Greek mythology, are permeated by it. The Vedic Aryans, who were of course a mixed race, were quite good devotees of that cult, though unfortunately that very cult has been up-till-now regarded as a decisive factor of non-Vedic influence in the later religion of the Hindus.

[3] I. C., III. p. 72 f.

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[1] Ādityas or Āditeyas = Suns = Aditeḥ putrāḥ (Nirukta).

[2] Sāyaṇa, following Yāska, consistently equates her with 'Adīnā Deva-mātā' or 'Bhūmī' (Great Mother-Goddess or Earth) [cf. R. V., I. 89. 3 ; I. 166. 2 ; I. 113. 19 ; V. 46. 6 ; VII. 88. 7 ; IX. 26. 1 ; IX. 69. 3 ; IX. 71. 5 ; IX. 74. 3–5 ; IX. 132. 6 ; etc.]. Nirukta identifies Aditi with *Sarvaṁ* (everything), with *Vāk* (II. 23. 1), with *Dyāvā-Pṛthivī* (III. 21. 7), etc.

[3] R. V., X. 11. 1 ; A. V., XVIII. 1. 18.

[4] 'उरुव्यचा अदितिः श्रोतु मे हवम् ।' —RV., V. 46. 6.

'तुविक्षत्रामजरन्तीमुरूचीं सुशर्माणमदितिं सुप्रणीतिम् ।'

—AV., XII. 6. 2 ; YV., XXI. 5.

Uruvyachā is an epithet that is appropriate in connection with Pṛithivī. For the significance of ***uru***, vide Tilak, op. cit. p. 39 f. I should think that ***uru*** rightly translated by Sāyaṇa as 'Prabhūta' is perhaps related to the Tamil word 'Poru' (meaning, 'enough'); compare Ur and Pur ; cf. 'Vichchā' an epithet of the Goddess in Agni P. 146. 2; also Visvāchchī, another epithet in Agni P. 58. 8–9; and Viśva-vyachā, an epithet or Pṛithivī-Aditi in T. B., II. 4. 2. 7 ; Vedic Kośa, p. 692.

[5] RV., VI. 67. 4 ; IX. 74. 5 ; X. 72. 8 = TA. I. B. 2 = Tāṇḍya B., XXIV. 12. 6 ; etc. Read for example the following passage in T. B., (I. i. 9. 1. f.) :—

"अदितिः पुत्रकामा । साध्येभ्यो देवेभ्यो ब्रह्मौदनमपचत् । तस्या उच्छेषणमददुः । तत्प्राश्नात् सा रेतोऽधत्त । तस्यै धाता चार्यमा चाजायेताम् ॥ सा द्वितीयमपचत् ॥... तस्यै मित्रश्च वरुणश्चाजायेताम् ॥ सा तृतीयमपचत् ।...तस्या अँशश्च भगश्चाजायेताम् ॥ सा चतुर्थमपचत् ।.. तस्या इन्द्रश्च विवस्वाँश्चाजायेताम् ॥" AV., VIII. 9. 21 :— 'अष्टयोनिरदितिरष्टपुत्रा ।'

The Syrian Mother-Goddess also 'conceives without ceasing' (Maspero, 159). Again, the Egyptian magic formula defines Aniti (= Anaiti = Anahita) and Astarte as "the great goddesses who conceiving do not bring forth young." Compare SRB., p. 32, st. 25 :—

'सत्वादिस्थैरगणितगुणैर्हन्त विश्वं प्रसूय व्यक्तं धत्ते प्रहसनकरीं या कुमारीति संज्ञाम् । मोहध्वान्तप्रसरविरतिर्विश्वमूर्तिः समन्तादाद्या शक्तिः स्फुरतु मम सा दीपवद्देहगेहे ॥'

[6] I. C., IV. 401 f. ; Nirukta, II. 23. 1. My friend Mr. Baijnath Puri writing in the same magazine picks up this suggestion without acknowledging it. Having

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known that the present thesis was nearing completion, he hurried through the press without knowing that he was not adding anything new on the subject. The sooner is not always the better ! Cf. IC. VII. 225.

[1] E. R., XII. 707. Note in this connection the Tamil word 'Nonī' which signifies the female organ. Compare words like *yoni* and their connection with the Great Goddess. The Sumerian Nanā, Ninā, or Nanai is to be identified with the Roman Nēnia, a goddess of the dead and of the funeral dirge, whose chapel stood outside the *Porta Vīminālis*.

[2] Nirukta, VI. 6. [3] RV., IX. 112. 3. [4] JASB., 1890. 111.

[5] G. A. Grierson, *An Introduction to Maithilī language of Northern Bihar*, p. 15 f. So also Nanni in Panjabi.

[6] Wallis Budge, p. 102.

[7] Tait. Ār., X. 7. mentions this epithet which is adopted by the southern-most point of Indian Peninsula, viz., Cape Kamorine (Kanyā-Kumārī). Read 'नमोऽस्तु वरदे कृष्णे कुमारि ब्रह्मचारिणि।...स्वरूपं ब्रह्मचर्यं च विशदं तव खेचरि।... कौमारव्रतमास्थाय त्रिदिवं पावितं त्वया।'—Mbh., IV. 6. 7 f. Also vide Mbh., VI. 23–4. Kauṭilya also mentions of the worship of the Goddess Kumārī.

[8] RV., X. 72. [9] Delaporte, p. 137 (= VIII. 3. 1. 4.).

[10] Wallis Budge, p. 102.

[11] Matsya P., 15. 12 f., Vishṇu P. (Oriental press ed.) I, 15. 90 f.

[12] Amara-kośa, st. 105.

Prajāpati, is deemed as the Father of Creation. One of the epithets of Umā-Pārvatī is Dākshāyaṇī, for she is one of these sixty daughters, according to Purāṇic texts. Hence, Umā is identical with Aditi, the daughter of Daksha according to the Ṛig-Veda. In Babylonia, Ishtar-Innini-Nanai becomes the concubine of Anu.[1] In India, this myth is found in connection with the Sky-Father and the Earth Mother as early as the Ṛig-veda, and its meaning is made clear by the Nirukta.[2] The same tradition is referred to in many Bhāhmaṇa passages, wherein Daksha is called Prajāpati, and the daugher seduced by him is variously named Dyaus (Sky), Ushas (Dawn) or Earth,—all of which are only forms of the Great Mother, as will be clear in the course of this thesis.[3] Later on this myth is transferred to Brahmā and his daughter, Vāk[4], or Sarasvatī,[5] or Sāvitrī, or Sarasvatī alias Sāvitrī,[6] according to different Purāṇic texts, etc. Vāk is, of course, one of the most important names of Aditi, and this goddess of speech could easily be Sarasvatī the goddess of learning. Again in the great Epic and in Purāṇic and Tāntric literature, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī only appear as epithets of the nude Goddess;[7] and Gāyatrī is, no doubt, Sāvitrī, who is often represented in the Mahābhārata as the wife of Brahman.[8] Texts are not wanting which would identify Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī and Brahmāṇī,[9] that are at times mentioned as four daughters of

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[1] Wallis Budge, p. 107.

[2] RV. X. 61. 5–7; RV. I. 164. 33 = AV. IX. 10. 12 = Nirukta IV. 21. 1.

[3] 'Aditir-Dyauḥ' is a well known phrase in the Brāhmaṇas and the Saṁhitās. For Prajāpati's tale, cf. ŚB. I. vii. 4. 1 f.; AB. III. iii. 9. 1 f.; Tāndya B. VIII. 2. 10 f. Jha Com. Vol. 46–49.

[4] Bhāgavata III. 12. 28 f.; compare III. 31. 36; VI. 6 1 f.

[5] Harsha-charita, (Parab. 1925) p. 8–13; calls her 'Bhagavatī Kumārī', and Brahmā addresses her as Vatsa.

[6] Matsya P., III. 30 f.; IV. 7 f.; IV. 24 f.; etc.

[7] Mbh. VI. 23–12. 15. etc. Matsya P., 13. 51–52; Padma P., V. 17. 215. cf. Tantra-chūḍāmaṇi (as quoted in Vāchaspatya, Nāgarī ed., III. p. 3038 f.) :— 'कुरुक्षेत्रे... । स्थाणुनाम्नी च सावित्री... । मणिबन्धे च गायत्री ।' which only means that the Goddess was known by one at one place, and by another at another. Mahā-tantra-paṭala (quoted in the same place) : —'ब्रह्माणि ब्रह्मशिरसि... । गायत्री चैव सावित्री कुशावर्ते कुशप्रिया ।'

[8] Hopkins, p. 63. At another place, Vedi becomes the wife of Pitāmaha,—a fact, which Hopkins calls a 'discrepancy', but which, as shown later, is easily explicable.

[9] Kūrma P., XII. 91–92, 117, 214, 220;

'ततः स्मृतेयं गायत्री सावित्रीयं ततो यतः ।
प्रकाशनात्सा सवितुर्वाग्रूपत्वात् सरस्वती ॥' —Agni P., 216. 2.
'शतरूपा च सा ख्याता सावित्री च निगद्यते ।
सरस्वत्यथ गायत्री ब्रह्माणी च परन्तप ॥' —Matsya P., III. 31. 9.; cf. IV. 7 f.

Brahmā. Brahmāṇī, it may be admitted, appears (like Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Rudrāṇī, Bhavānī, etc.) to be a female form of the divinity Brahmā, though she is mentioned in the Purāṇas as his daughter. Magna Mater thus appears under various names and various forms, giving rise to diverse myths ; but essentially she is the same everywhere. And so is the case with the Father God ; for Daksha is merely a name of Rudra,[1] who is originally the Sky-Father. Irā-Iḍā is food according to the Ṛig-veda, and is identical with Ilā-Aditi, who is the Source of food.[2] Indeed, some of the terracotta figurines of the Indian Mother Goddess hold in their hands plates, in which something like food articles seem to be depicted. Ilā, Irā, Iḷā, or Iḍā reminds us of the Phrygian mistress of the swift slaughtering lions, known in Rome as "Mater Deum Magna Idæa" (the Great Mother of the gods from Mount Ida),[3] as well as of the Aegean Goddess worshipped on Mount Ida[4] (=Psiloriti). We shall refer to the connection of the Indian Iḍā, Ilā or Durgā, with lions and mountains on a later occasion. Meanwhile, we may note the possibility of these mountains taking their names from some epithet of this Universal Goddess, current in those regions, and philologically akin to, if not identical with, the Indian name Irā or Iḍā. And this suggestion is strengthened by the fact that Aphrodite (cf. Abhrayantī), the goddess of prostitution, to whom large bands of girls were consecrated, was worshipped at Idalion in Cyprus.[5] Venus, it will be shown later, is identical with Ishtar, and on Eryx (a mountion in the N. W. of Sicily) existed a renowned Grecian temple of hers, where she was known as Aphrodite or Venus Idalia.

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[1] Matsya P., 47 136 :—'मृगव्याधाय दक्षाय स्थाणवे भाषणाय च ।'

[2] 'वाजस्य नु प्रसवे मातरं महीमदितिं नाम वचसा करामहे ।'
—YV., IX. 5 ; XVIII. 13 ; AV., VII. 6. 4.
'इयं (=पृथिवी) वा अन्नादी ।' —K. B., 27. 5.
'इयं वाऽइदमन्नाद्यमुपयच्छति पशुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यो वनस्पतिभ्यः ।'
—Ś. B., IV. i. 2. 27 ; also see Ś. B., II. ii. 1. 21; VII. iv. 2. 7 ; V. iii. 1. 4 ; III. ii. 3. 19 ; etc. Later on, in India, she becomes Anna-pūrṇā or Śākambharī.

[3] In Anatolia. Idæa was, according to some, a surname, which she owed to that Mt.

[4] In Crete. Here she was worshipped in the Early Minoan and throughout the M. M. Periods (Glot 3 p. 258). That there was a definite connection between these two mountains of the same name is amply clear. For instance, about Idæan Daktuloi or Daktyli, we are informed that they were fabulous beings in Greek mythology, who " had their originsl home in Phrygian Ida, but were afterwards transferred to the mountain of the same name in Crete." They were in the service of Rhea Cybele, the Idæan Mother (D. C. A., p. 316).

[5] D. C. A., p. 39.

Noteworthy in this connection would be the Greek word I*ρρa*, which means food.[1] In classical Sanskrit Irā stands not only for food, but for speech (Vāk), water, wine and the earth.[2] Lastly, the Amorite moon-god is Erah.

We shall now note one interesting feature of the Goddess. No doubt, it was her male counterpart that was worshipped in the form of the moon under the name of Sin or Nannar at Ur-Kashdīm. Again at Haran (Kharranu ?), a Mesopotamian town near the frontier of Syria and Asia Minor, the same god "was worshipped under the symbol of a conical stone, probably an aerolite, surrounded by a guilded crescent," and had his cult associated with cruel practices "even down to late times".[3] In India, his place seems to have been taken by Śiva, also known as Chandra-śekhara : and one of his most famous Jyotirmaya liṅgas is Somanātha.[4] Again, the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa identifies at one place Rudra with Chandramas.[5]

Yet, generally it is the female deity that is identified with the Moon. For even at Ur, Nannar had his wife Nin-gal, who was worshipped as a Moon-goddess. Corresponding to her are the Greek Artemis and the Roman Diana. We have already referred to Artemis as a goddess of Nature. She was virgin daughter (cf. Kanyā-Kumārī) of Zeus the Father God (=Dyaush-Pitā=Sky Father), and was a twin sister of Apollo the Sun-god (who is only a form of the Father God). "Artemis is also a protectress of youth, especially those of her own sex....; and as the promoter of healthy development, especially in the female frame, is connected with the notion of her assistance in childbirth."[6] Diana had attributes quite akin to those of Artemis. She was mainly adored by the fair sex "who prayed to her for happiness in marriage or childbirth."[7] Diana was not unoften identified by classical writers with Artemis or with the Mother Goddess.

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[1] Max Müller's *Bibliographies of Words* etc., p. 192.

[2] Śāśvata-kośa (Kulkarni's ed., p. 27) ; Viśva, quoted by Nārāyaṇa on the Naishadhīya, XXI. 86.

[3] Maspero, p. 26.

[4] 'सौराष्ट्रदेशे विशदेऽतिरम्ये (v. l. म्यं) ज्योतिर्मयं चन्द्रकलावतंसम् । भक्तिप्रदानाय कृपावतीर्णं तं सोमनाथं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ '

—Bṛihat-stotra-ratnākara, Stotra 46. 1 ; JBBRAS. p. 5 f.

'सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च° । '—JBBRAS., X. 4 f.; Bṛihat-stotra-ratnākara, 61. 1.

[5] K. B., VI. as quoted in Jha Com. Vol., p. 60–61.

[6] D. C. A., p. 71 f. The so-called Ephesian Artemis is described in details from monuments and coins by Sir W. H. Ramsay in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* I. 605. According to him, "the upper part of the body in front is covered with rows of beasts, symbolizing her function as the nourishing mother of all life".

[7] D. C. A., p. 183.

There were other names of the same Moon or Mother Goddess. One such was Hecatē, whom I venture to identify with Śakti. "She stands high in the regard of Zeus (= Dyaush-Pitā = Sky Father), from whom she has received a share in the heaven, earth, and ocean. She is invoked in all sacrifices.......Sometimes she was regarded as the goddess of the moon or as Artemis."[1] Like her Indian counterpart, she was looked upon as "the goddess of ghosts and magic," and was represented as haunting graves and crossways.[2] Fish and snakes were sacred to her.[3] My suggestion regarding her identification with Śakti[4] can be logically carried to mean that Indra (identified by all scholars with Zeus) was the male counterpart of Śakti, i.e. Indra is identical with Śiva-Rudra. This is exactly what I prove later. Meantime, we may remember the possibility arising from the fact that Śachī is etymologically identical with Śakti : both are connected with the root *sak*, to be powerful. Śachī *can* be the same as Śakti.

The Thracian Bendis and the Cretan Britomartis, as moon-goddesses having power over heaven and earth, were both identified with the Greek Artemis and were looked upon as mother goddesses ;[5] and so was Sēlēnē. I confess, I am inclined to identify the last one with Sinīvālī of the Vedic texts. Selēnē "was worshipped on the days of the new and full moon."[6] In India, Sinīvālī was worshipped as the goddess of the new moon, while Rākā (her constant associate), who was only another form of the Moon Goddess, was worshipped on the full-moon day. But to this we shall turn a little later.

Lucian and Herodian identify 'Ashtar with moon,[7] and 'Ashtar changes sex and becomes a male deity in Moab and South Arabia.[8] This position might well be compared with an interesting fact that Soma (= Moon ; a word in masculine gender) is addressed as Aditi in the Ṛigveda.[9] The sex of the moon is uncertain, and so is that of Aditi. Aditi is Dyaus (Sky), Aditi is Pṛithivī (Earth) : Aditi is Mātā (Mother), Aditi is Pitā (Father).[10] She signifies the unity of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother, and in this may lie the origin of the Ardha-nārī-naṭeśvara form of Rudra-Śiva.

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[1] Ibid. p. 271, col. i.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. col. ii. Hecatē is the "moon before she has risen and after she has set." Brewer, *Dict. af Phrase and Fables*, p. 857.

[4] A. C. Das, p. 280, suggests the identity of Śakti and the Egyptian goddess Sekhet (= Isis) and I am disposed to agree with him. In Hecatē we obviously possess a connecting link between the two. Inspite of his fantastic attempt at overdating, some of Das' suggestions seem to be as brilliant as they are correct.

[5] D. C. A., p. 96 ; 100.

[6] Ibid. p. 573.

[7] ERE. II. 116, col. ii.

[8] Ibid.

[9] RV. VIII. 48. 2.

[10] RV. I. 89. 10 ; AV. VII. 6. I ; etc.

Now, there was a goddess El in Sumer. "According to D. Nielsen, the South Arabian deity Ilāh, or Il, which is also the common Semitic word for 'god' and corresponds to the Hebrew and Aramaic deity El, Elohim, is one of the names of the Moon-god," who was also known as Nanna or Ma.[1] Elohim was worshipped along with her consort Yaw on Mount Sinai, which Sayce, Langdon and other scholars connect with the name Sin (Zu-en or En-zu) of the Moon-god, the measurer of time.[2]

It is very easy to recognize the Indian deities Ilā and Yahva in Elohim (Ilāh or El) and Yaw (Yhwh, Yahveh),[3] and no stretch of imagination is required to connect Sin with Sinī or Sinīvālī. From the Kāśi-khaṇḍa we learn that Sinī along with eight other goddesses waited upon the Moon.[4] Sinīvālī is identified with Amāvāsyā in which (the New) Moon is visible[5], or else she is equated with the Goddess presiding over the New Moon.[6] Along with Sinīvālī are generally mentioned as deities presiding over different phases of the Moon, Kuhū, Anumati and Rākā. It is amply clear from tha Brāhmaṇa texts that Darśa[1] (No-Moon and New-Moon) and Pūrṇamāsa (Full-Moon) sacrifices were nothing but offerings meant to propitiate the lunar deities Sinīvālī and Rākā. In many passages of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, Sinīvālī is described as Sukapardā (with a beautiful knot of hair) Sukurīrā (= Su-mukuṭā, having a charming crown) and Svaupaśā (having lovely limbs).[2] Terracotta figurines with a big headdress and a beautiful crown and occasionally not uncouth limbs have been found at Rairh, Mathura, etc. Rākā perhaps does not find such frequent mention as Sinīvālī, though she too is often invoked. Amāvāsyā which falls on Somavāsara (Monday),—a day sacred to moon—is known as Somavatī Amāvāsyā, and is held sacred by all Hindus. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā forbids intercourse with a woman on Amāvāsyā and Paurṇamāsī,[3] probably because either of them was a day sacred to the goddess of fertility. But for the same reason, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] enjoins Agnyādhāna (which undoubtedly corresponds to Garbhādhāna[5]) on the night of Amāvāsyā, for (it is said) on such a night the road to heaven is open. The sacrifice pertaining to Amāvāsyā is, indeed, an offering to Aditi.[6] On the day of the Garbhādhāna it is necessary to worship the deity of fertility, viz. the Earth (Pṛithivī),[7] or, otherwise Sinīvālī may be solicited to put the fœtus in its proper place.[8] From all these references, there should be left no doubt that Sinīvālī was a form of the Mother Goddess Ilā-Aditi.

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[1] Langdon, l. c., p. 5 ; 152 ; etc. *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 49.

[2] Sin is Indian Chandra-śekhara, Mahākāla or Kāla, the Time-Spirit. Vide in this connection Delaporte, p. 139 ; Dawn of Civilization, p. 646 ; etc.

[3] We have already referred to the fact that Nannar the Moon-god of Ur was addressed to by Cyrus as *Jehoveh*. I seek the ultimate origin of the latter word in Yauhu Auhu, an ancient Egyptian name for the pale disk of the moon (cf. Dawn of Civilization, p. 92). His connection with the Sanskrit rt. *yabh* depends upon the primitive theory of suitability for copulation of certain nights having particular lunar phases. Again the name Jehoveh was written in the Hebrew by four signs Iod, He Vau and He (Yhwh), which can without difficulty be connected with the Egyption word.

[4] 'चन्द्रं सिनी कुहूश्चैव द्युतिः पुष्टिः प्रभा वसुः ।
कीर्तिर्धृतिश्च लक्ष्मीश्च नव देव्यः सिषेविरे ॥'
—Kāśikhaṇḍa, 14. 33.

[5] 'शशिनि सिनीवाली स्यादृष्टे नष्टे कुहूरमावास्या ।
अनुमतिरूने राका संपूर्णे पूर्णमासी च ॥'
—Halāyudha's Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā, I 112.

'दृष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहूरित्येतावमावास्याभेदौ ।' —Śrīdhara.

'कलाहीने सानुमतिः पूर्णे राका निशाकरे ।...
सा दृष्टेन्दुः सिनीवाली सा नष्टेन्दुकला कुहूः ।'
—Amara-kośa, 129-130.

'या पूर्वामावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूरिति विज्ञायते ।'
—Nirukta, XI. 31. 2.; cf. AB. VII. 11 = Gopatha B. II. i. 10 = Shaḍviṁśati B. IV. 6. Also Kāṭhaka Br.; Dikshit, p. 46 ; Matsya P., 133. 36; 141. 49 f.; Bhāgavata P., VI. 18-2 ; Hopkins, p. 70 ; 100-102.

[6] 'सिनीवाली चन्द्रकलाभियुक्तामावास्याभिमानी देवता ।'
—Mahīdhara on YV. XI. 56.

We have noted that the sex of both Ilā and the moon is a very illusive affair. The moon-god Erah which occupied a very prominent position in the Amorite pantheon was a male deity, and so was at times El, Elohim or Ilāh who changes sex. It would not be uninteresting to add that Ilā, the progenitress of the Aila-vaṁśa or Soma-vaṁśa (Lunar dynasty), also changes sex according to Purāṇic account.[1] The Ailas, worshippers of the Mother Goddess, could easily call themselves 'sons of Ilā,' just as the Babylonians and others did. The Arabian Ilāh was also known as Ilāt, Alāt, or Allāh,[2] and afterwards became the only god known to the Muslim religion. And it is well-known that in Sanskrit, Allā, (like Akkā),[3] signifies Ambā (= 'Mother Goddess' or a 'mother'). According to Pāṇini, the vocative of Allā becomes Alla, like masculine names ending in *a*, rather than Alle like the feminine names ending in *ā*.[4] Is not this change of sex significant?

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[1] ‘दर्शोऽमावास्याकालः ।’ —Mallināth on Raghu. XIV. 80.
Darśa and Paurnamāsī are names of the New-moon and Full-moon nights respectively of the first fortnight according to T. B. III. x. 1. 1. Vide Dikshit, p. 46, footnote.

[2] ‘सिनीवाली सुकपर्दा सुकुरीरा स्वौपशा ।’
—TS. IV. i. 5. 3; YV. XI. 56; Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XVI. 5; Mait. Saṁ. II. 7.5 Ś. B., VI. 5. 1. 10.

[3] ‘नामावास्यायां च पौर्णमास्यां च स्त्रियमुपेयात् ।’ —TS. II. v. 6. 4 f.

[4] ‘स योऽमावास्यायामग्नी आधत्ते । यथा विवृतायां द्वारि द्वारा पुरं प्रपद्येत । स तत एव स्वर्गं लोकमियात् । एवं तद्योऽमावास्यामायाधत्ते ।’ —ŚB. XI. i. 1. 2.

[5] See infra.

[6] ‘आमावास्येनेष्ट्वा । अदित्यै चरुमनु निर्व्वपति ।’ —ŚB. XI. i. 3. 3; XI. i. 3. 5.

[7] ‘गर्भाधानं ततः कुर्यान्मध्यस्थाने समाहितः ॥
कुम्भोपरिष्टाद्देवेशं पद्मिनीं न्यस्य देवताम् ॥
...पद्माकारे ताम्रमये भाजने पृथिवीं यजेत् ।’ —Agni P., 41. 18 f.

[8] ‘गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि ।’ —RV. X. 184. 3.

In the lists of Sumerian kings, we find names like Ishbi-Irra, Irra-mitti, etc., just as we find others like Libit-Ishtar, Ishtar-muti, etc. This comparison would, perhaps, show that Irra was a name of some supreme deity like Ishtar. And 'Ilu' was undoubtedly affixed to words denoting gods. This Sumerian custom of naming persons after gods or goddesses is common in India. Ilā is a name still favourite in Bengal.

Lastly, I may record in this connection that it is difficult for me to accept Mr. V. S. Agrawala's suggestion regarding the identificrtion of Ailavilas or Ailabiḍas with Rabaris.[5] The latter should, if at all, be rather connected with the Bạrbaras of Barbaricum (Barbarika). In passing, I may note that the Aiḍabṛidas seem to be first referred to in the Yajur-veda Saṁhitā.[6]

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[1] Brahma P., Ch. 106–108. (Gautamī Māhātmya); Bhāgavata P., IX. 1. 21f.; Matsya P., XI. 40 f.; Vishṇu P., IV. i. 9 f.

[2] Langdon, p. 5 f.

[3] Among the Finns, Akka is a name given to the Mother Earth. 'The Origin of the Aryans', p. 327. Read also Caldwell, l. c., p. 454 ; 497.

[4] Pāṇini, VII. iii. 107 :—'अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ।' on which read Kāśikā :—'हे अम्ब । हे अल्ल । हे अक्क ।... डलवतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् । हे अम्बाड । हे अम्बाल । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिक । हे अम्बिके ।' As an illustration of the usage in the Vedas, the following stanza from the Yajurveda might be mentioned:—YV. XXIII. 18:—'अम्बेऽअम्बिकेऽम्बालिके न मा नयति कश्चन । ससस्त्यश्वकः सुभद्रिकां काम्पीलवासिनीम् ॥' cf. ŚB., XIII. ii. 8, 3. Ambā is represented in the Mahābhārata as changing her sex; she becomes Śikhandī (= मयूर) in order to kill Bhīshma who remains a Kumāra. Ambikā and Ambālikā are represented there as Ambā's sisters, and thus becomes wives of Vichitra-vīrya, a very significant name. These are but pure myths.

[5] J. Gujarat Res. Soc. 1939, Oct. p. 149.

[6] YV. XVI. 60. For Ailavilas, cf. Vishṇu, IV. i. 20.

I am further disposed to identify Iḍā Anna-pūrṇā with Anna Perenna, an "ancient Italian goddess, about whose exact attributes the ancient themselves were not clear. She is probably the moon-goddess of the revolving year, who every month renews her youth, and was therefore regarded as a goddess who bestowed long life and all that contributes to it. About full moon on the Idas (fifteenth) of March...the Romans held a merry feast under the open sky"[1] in her honour, and wished each other long life.

And if all these identifications are not so much trustworthy, they will turn out to be so, if I suggest many more! For Proserpina or Persephone, I do not find, I must admit, a Sanskrit equivalent in the many names of the Indian Mother. We do not get a Prasarpiṇī, though there is a Sarpa-rājnī, the goddess of the underworld. And about Persephone, a daughter of Zeus and Demeter, we learn that as "the wife of Hades, she is the dread queen of the world below".[2] And her "special name in Attic cult is Corē (lit. "the Maiden")".[3] At another place also, we learn that Korē was "the name by which Persephone was called in the Eleusinian mysteries and in Orphic literature, where she appears as an all-pervading nature goddess". Along with her mother, "she was regarded as the virgin daughter" and she helped in rendering the earth more fertile. And like all true mother goddesses, she was related to the Father god in diverse ways. "In Eleusinian mysteries she was connected with Dionysus, who, under the mystic name Iacchus, was regarded as her son, brother or bridegroom".[4] Korē is undoubtedly Kumārī and Iacchus *possibly* Yaksha.

There is again a happy identification suggested by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri,[5] viz. Nṛitu or Nṛiti of the Ṛigveda = Nerthus of N. Germany and Scandinavia. Nṛitu appears in the Ṛigveda as a goddess of the dawn and dancing and Uṇādivṛitti explains the term as Mother Earth. The evidence of Tacitus also goes to prove that Nerthus, to whom cows were sacred and in whose honour melée was held yearly, was identical with the Mother Earth. The sacred dance is a familiar phenomenon in connection with the cult, and as Dr. Sten Konow points out, Nerthus is probably to be derived from the root *nṛit*, to dance ; so is probably Nṛitu or Nṛiti. Konow also shows[1] many features that are common to Durgā-pūjā and the worship of Nerthus (also known as Herthe or Hertha).

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[1] D. C. A., p. 33–34. Here is another explanation of the name *Anna Perenna* :—

"An old Roman deity of the circle or "ring" of the year, as the name (per annum) clearly indicates. Her 'festival' fell on the full moon of the first month (March 15), and was held at the grove of the goddess at the first mile-stone on the Via Flaminia. It was much frequented by the city plebs, and Ovid describes vividly the revelry and licentiousness of the occassion."—EB. (11th ed.) II. p. 63.

[2] D. C. A., p. 472.

[3] Ibid. SCD., p. 379, opines that Corē means "the Daughter".

[4] D. C. A., 475. Hecatē is supposed to be "a triple deity, being *Luna* in heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Proserpine* in hell". E. C. Brewer, *The Reader's Handbook*, p. 478.

[5] JBORS. XII. 519 f.

The Accadian word Aya, Aia, or Ai stands for one of the forms of the Mother Goddess and can be paralleled by the Kanarese and Marāṭhī[2] word ' Āī ' meaning ' mother ', and the Hindustānī word ' Āyā ', meaning foster-mother (cf. Skt. Dhātrī, which stands for ' a foster-mother ' as well as ' the earth '). Aya or Ai was one of the oldest goddesses of Sumero-Chaldæan pantheon and was represented as a consort of the sun-god Ninib. She was identified with the moon-goddess Gula or Anunit, presiding over life and fecundity, death and disease.[3]

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[1] JASB. XXI. no. 7.

[2] Dr. Irāvatī Karve includes the following among the words for mother found in Marāṭhi :—Ammā, āīs, āiyā, āya, etc. (Bulletin, Deccan College Res. Inst., 1940, I. 336 f.).

[3] NCM., p. 77.

CHAPTER VII

Connection between India and the Western Countries

The Phrygians who worshipped Iḍā or "Idæa" as a great mother of gods are looked upon as Aryans by speech. Dr. H. R. Hall opines that they were "a people compounded of an Aryan aristocracy ruling over and gradually mixing with the Anatolian peasants".[1] From traditions recorded in Greek literature and from inscriptions, we gather that they "came in irresistable bands of mail-clad warriors from Mesopotamia and Thrace crossing into Asia Minor by the Hellesponts,"[2] sometime before 1200 B. C.[3] The Greeks are alleged to have borrowed from them—but this is the opinion of scholars of older generations—"those orgiastic forms of religious worship of Dionysus and of the Mother of the Gods, orgies which led alike to sensual excess and hideous self-mutilations, to semi-religious frenzy and bestial immoralities."[4] They called their 'Dionysus' Bagalus (cf. Bagaios), which name is comparable to Indian Bhaga or Bhagavān (an epithet of Śiva). E. Curtius says: "When the Assyrians in the thirteenth century advanced past the spring of Euphrates into the western peninsula (of Asia Minor) they found on the central table-land, a mighty body of native population,—the Phrygians."[5] So they seem to have been already regarded as the native population of Phrygia by the thirteenth century B. C. Herodotus and Strabo regard them as of Thracian origin,[6] while the *Iliad* refers to their fenced cities, and to the battles which Priam, the last king of Troy, fought as an ally of the Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks on Sangarius in the heart of Phrygia. In Trance, "there was in fact a tribe whose name Briges seems just a de-aspirated form of Phryges (Bhruges)."[7]

I have, therefore, no hesitation in agreeing with A. Weber, A. Kuhn, A. Barth,[8] F. Max Müller,[9] and A. Banerji Sastri[10] that the Phrygians, the worshippers of the Mother Goddess, were identical with the Bhṛigus, who are connected with waters even in the Ṛig-veda,[1] and whose eponymous ancestor is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as coveting the Goddess Umā herself.[2] Hopkins says:—"The connection of Paraśu-Rāma with the Śiva-cult is maintained to the present day, the temples of Kālī having a special shrine to this Rāma, owing to the legend that his wife Reṇukā was revived by her head being placed on the body of a Pariah woman. The Goddess Ellammā (=Sarvāmbā) is recognised as the "goddess with the head of Reṇukā," while Paraśu-Rāma adores Ambikā Ellammā)."[3] Generally Indian literature refers to Paraśu-Rāma Bhārgava as Rainukeya or Reṇukā-suta.[4] Nārāyaṇa,[5] a commentator on the Naishadhīya, identifies Reṇukā with Ekavīrā, probably following some Purāṇas. *Even if* Paraśu-Rāma be a historical personage, he could easily regard himself as a son of the Mother Goddess; and we know that in many foreign countries, the worship of the axe was very intimately connected with the Goddess cult. On Chaldæan cylinder, the battle-axe is placed on the sacred altar, and receives homage of a priest or a priestess; its phallic connotation was first made known there by A. de Longperier. In Ægean art, for example, the double war-axe or bipennis, found in the field of the gem impression as being worshipped by votaries, was undoubtedly connected with the worship of the Goddess, and is often associated with her other symbols like the fish, serpent, palm-tree and doves.[6] "In E. M. II votive double axes of copper and lead were enclosed in tombs. A large number, of copper and silver, were consecrated in a sacred grotto ... The double axe appears floating in the air on its way down from heaven. It hovers over the goddess beneath the sun and the moon, while far away, as a modest complement, a divinity appears armed with spear and shield."[7] It also appears there, between the sacred 'horns of consecration' or Cow-horns; sometimes it assumes a (ceremonial) reduplicated form and is the generally looked upon as a bisexual fetish.[8] On a Mycenean golden ring, for example, it occurs just in front of the Goddess—between her and her devotees—in its reduplicated form.[1] Some symbols of the Greek deities were borrowed "from the pre-historic peoples whom they dispelled in Crete and Hellas. Such is the double-edged axe, which is found in the palace of Cnossus in Crete in the third millenium B. C. in scenes of cultus, and which belongs to a male or a female deity of the people. This axe became among the Greeks a symbol of Dionysos"[2], who undoubtedly corresponds to Indian Śiva. The implements used in the bloody sacrifices in conection with the Goddess were sacred to her. Paraśu, the chief instrument for killing a sacrificial animal, must naturally be regarded as holy, and the goddess is actually said to preside over it.[3] So, Bārgava Paraśu-Rāma could be a worshipper of the Goddess or of the God, *only if* he were a real person ; for in India too this connection of Paraśu with that cult is directly vouchsafed by Śiva's epithet Khaṇḍa-paraśu.[4] In fact, Śiva himself is said to have presented his axe to Paraśu-Rāma, who annihilated the Kshatriyas with it no less than twenty-one times.[5] Moreover, Śiva is himself invoked as a Bhārgava or a Bhṛigu-nātha.[6]

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[1] '*Ancient History of the Near East*' (1913), p. 476.

[2] Garstang, p. 15.

[3] EB., XVII. 851.

[4] P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, ch. 2

[5] *History of Greece*, Vol. I. Bk. i. ch. 3; Larned, IV. 2603.

[6] For Phrygians, vide Camb. Anc. His., III. 501 f.; 634 f.; ERE. IX. 900 f.

[7] Childe, p. 63; ERE. IX. 900. col. 1.

[8] V. M., p. 140; ERE. IX. 900 f.

[9] *Bibliographies of Words and the Home of the Aryans* (1888), p. 190.

[10] Asura India; JBORS. XII. p. 126.

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[1] RV. X. 46. 2; II. 4. 2.

[2] Mbh., XII. 342. 62:—"हिमवतो गिरेर्दुहितरं कन्यां रुद्रश्चकमे भृगुरपि महर्षिर्हिमवन्तमागत्याब्रवीत्। कन्यामिमां मे देहीति...।"

[3] Hopkins, p. 226.

[4] Vide Viśva-kośa on Reṇukā; Naishadhīya, XXI. 68.

[5] Naishadhīya XXI. 69, commentary.

[6] Glotz. p. 233–234; ERE. I. 144, col. 1.

[7] Glotz. p. 231.

[8] Ibid. p. 234.

I have, however, no doubt that Paraśu-Rāma was not a historical person, but it would be, perhaps, dangerous to make a further guess about him at this stage. I propose to return to this question later. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra refers to the Bhṛigus as suffering an insult at the hand of the Tālajaṅghas, who were afterwards overwhelmed by their sin.[7] The Purāṇic lore refers to the same tradition, only introducing slight variations here and there. According to the Epic account,[8] a single Bhārgava, named Aurva, sufficed for that mighty Brāhmaṇic achievement, viz., the destruction of the Tālajaṅghas. A similar act of glory is referred to as early as the Atharvaveda,[9] where we find the Sṛiñjayas alias Vaitahavyas being routed. They had the cheek to insult the Bhṛigus, according to one verse ; they deprived (? lit. 'ate') a Brāhmaṇa of his *Go* (= Cow ?), according to another ; naturally, they paid the penalty.

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[1] Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. p. 200.

[2] ERE, XII. 139 f.

[3] Kāla-rātrī Mantra, (as quoted in 'The Great Temples of India, Ceylon, etc. p. 2) ; cf. Kādambarī (Parab) pp. 396-401 ; etc.

[4] Amara-kośa, st. 35.

[5] Myth. A. R., VI. 111.

[6] Matsya P., XLII. 156. 133.

[7] Artha-śāstra, I. 3 :—'तालजङ्घश्च भृगुषु (विक्रान्तः)।'

[8] Mbh., XIII. 153. 11. :—'दण्डकानां महाराज्यं ब्राह्मणेन विनाशितम्। तालजङ्घं महाक्षत्रं और्वेणैकेन नाशितम् ॥'

[9] AV. V. 19. 1 :—'भृगुं हिंसित्वा सृञ्जया वैतहव्याः पराभवन्।'
AV. V. 18. 10 :—'ते ब्राह्मणस्य गां जग्ध्वा वैतहव्याः पराभवन्।'

The Bhṛigus are frequently referred to as having discovered Fire,[1] or established it first among men, according to a legend in which Weber perceived some relic of Indo-Germanic mythology. He says :—"The name Bhṛigu corresponds to a nicety with the Greek *φλεγυ* in the name of *φλεγυα*s and of the *φλεγυαι*, who on account of their arrogance were condemned to the harsh penalties of hell, while in this story Bhṛigu for arrogance is sent there to be looker-on."[2]

I do not, therefore, see if the suggested identity of the Bhṛigus with the Phrygians leaves anything to be desired. The Ṛig-veda associates them with the Druhyus and the Turvaśas.[3] Most of these tribes, Sṛiñjayas or/and Vaitahavyas or/and Turvaśas, can easily be shown to be connected with regions not far removed from the western coast, e.g., Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa. And the Bhṛigus were definitely connected with Bharukachchha or Bhṛigukachchha (Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Pariplus), which was undoubtedly the greatest port in the Bombay Presidency in ancient times. The legends regarding Aurva, a Bhārgava, identified in the Purāṇic lore with the submarine fire, also illustrates the connection of the Bhṛigus or Bhārgavas with the western sea.[4] The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[5] derives Bhṛigu's origin from heated waters, and the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa does it from the Bhargas (=Tejas) of Varuṇa. According to the Śatapatha, Aitareya and other Brāhmaṇas,[6] Bhṛigu is Vāruṇi (=a son of Varuṇa, the god of the West). He is born, according to the northen recensions of the Mahābhārata, out of Fire, at a sacrifice of Varuṇa.[7]

The Babylonian word for 'mother' is Ummu or Umma, the Accadian Ummi, and the Dravidian is Umma. These words can be connected with each other and with Umā, the Mother Goddess, whom Bhṛigu is said to have coveted. The Phrygian name of the

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[1] RV. I. 58. 6; I. 143. 4; X. 46. 2; I. 60. 1; VI. 15. 2; YV. XV. 26= XXXIII. 6=RV. IV. 7. 1.

[2] ZDMG. IX. (1885), p. 242.

[3] RV., VII. 18. 6.

[4] Cf. Mbh., I. Chs. 180–182; etc.

[5] Pūrva-bhāga, I. 3.

[6] ŚB. XI. vi. 1. 1 :—'भृगुर्ह वारुणिः। वरुणं पितरं विद्ययातिमेने तद्ध वरुणो विदाञ्चकारातिवै मा विद्यया मन्यत इति।' A very similar tale is told regarding Śvetaketu Āruṇeya in Chhāndogya-Upanishad (VI. 11.); and learned scholars have chosen to believe in them to the extent of making them a basis for chronological tables. It is such 'internal' evidence, on which, for instance, the whole of Parikshit chronology is based. Cf. T. A. IX. 1; T. Up., I. iii. i. i; A. B. III. 34; The Indo-Aryan Races, p. 17; VM. p. 140; etc.

[7] "भृगुर्महर्षिर्भगवान्। वरुणस्य क्रतौ जातः पावकादिति नः श्रुतम्॥" —ABI. XVIII, p. 60.

Mother Goddess is said to be Ammā[1] (or Mā); she can easily be equated with name Ambā (Ambi or Ambikā)[2] worshipped by the Bhārgavas. She is the yoni (the place of birth, or mother) of Rudra in addition to being his sister.

A Draviḍian word for Mother is Ammā, and the change from Ammā to Mā, which is not a very remote one, seems to take place, if at all, not only in Asia Minor, but also in India, at a very early period. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[3] refers to 'this world' (explained by all the commentators as 'the Earth'), as 'Mā', deriving it from the root 'mā', to measure. Both in the Northern and Southern India, the Mother Goddess in still called 'Mā', which may be philologically connected more directly with Ammā than with Mātṛi. The Amarkośa[4] equates *Mā* with Bhārgavī (indeed, she was a goddess of the Phrygians), Lokamātā (Mother of the world), Ramā or Lakshmī. How Lakshmī is only a form of the Great Goddess shall be shown later, but the Anatolian Mā is already connected by certain scholars with the Egyptian divinity Maāt, the deity of justice and the underworld, who held in her hand a two forked rod (symbolising male element and corresponding to our Indian Triśūla), in addition to Ankh. She is a daughter of the sun god Ra.

Now, wherefrom did the Phrygians come ? Did they originally belong to India or to Phrygia ? The above given information only makes it probable that they belonged to the quarter of Varuṇa, i.e., they migrated into India from the west, *via* Mesopotamia and Arabia, across the seas; this gets confirmation from some unexpected source,—from their connection with the Turvaśas, who along with the Yadus migrated from those regions.

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[1] A. C. Das, "Ṛig-vedic India", p. 309; JRAS. 1232-23 f. It is also found in old High German, Draviḍian, Saythian and other tongues. Cf. Caldwell, 455; 499.

[2] Haṁsarāja's *Vedic Kośa*, p. 40, quotes :—Mait. B., I. 10. 20 :—'शरद्वै रुद्रस्य योनिः स्वसाम्बिका...अम्बी वै स्त्री भगनाम्नी तस्मात्त्र्यम्बका।'

T. B., I. 6. 10. 4. :—'शरद्वा अस्य अम्बिका स्वसा।'

Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā :—'शरद्वा रुद्रस्य स्वसाम्बिका..........अम्बी वै स्त्री भगा नाम्नी तस्मात्त्र्यम्बकाः।'

See also Sabhā-parva, ch. x. st. 22.

[3] Ś. B., VIII. 3. 3. 5 :—'अयं वै (पृथिवी –) लोको माऽयं हि लोको मित इव।' This derivation is, of course, in a class with many others, suggested by the Brāhmaṇa-kṛit etymologists ; it may or may not be accepted. Nānārth-ratna-mālā-kośa (Kulkarni's ed., p. 77) :—"मा स्त्री माने मृतौ वेला-मेधा-श्री-मद्य-मातृषु ॥......मा लक्ष्मीश्च प्रकीर्तिता ॥ प्रमातरि च माने मा......।"

[4] Amara-kośa, st. 30.

I have little doubt that Parāvat, mentioned over 55 times in the Ṛig-veda, is the river Euphrates or the country round about her. Parāvat is said to be 'great' (paramā)[1] and is often mentioned along with Arvāvat,[2] when Indra or Aśvins are invoked either from, or as dwelling in, those regions. If Indra is at one place said to have brought Yadu and Turvaśa from Parāvat,[3] Agni is credited with the same feat at another.[4] In a passage which occurs twice in in the Ṛig-veda, Indra is said to have helped Turvaśa and Yadu across the sea.[5] Undoubtedly, Parāvat was a region beyond the sea.

In a Ṛig-vedic passage, Indra and Agni are invoked from their abode amongst the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus, and Purus.[6] Elsewhere, the Aśvins are said to be among the Druhyus, Anus, Turvaśas, and Yadus.[7] At another place they are offered the "Somas" that are among the Turvaśas, Yadus and Kaṇvas.[8] These passages, I submit, have to be borne in mind, while interpreting the hymns referring Indra or Aśvins to Arvāvat and Parāvat. Arvāvat and Parāvat could not be regions belonging to fables. For this, a most conclusive proof would be that in one place the Nāsatyā (= Aśvins) are said to dwell in Parāvat, or in Turvaśa.[9]

A stanza like the one, in which a co-wife utters bravely her wishful thinking that she would expel her rival to Parāvat (= The Euphrates-valley),[10] may be profitably compared to the famous stanzas in the Atharvaveda, where a disease is wished away to the land of the Bālhīkas or of the Mūjavats.[11] The river Euphrates is still known as

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1. RV. IV. 50. 3 ; V. 61. 1 ; X. 95. 14 ; TB. III. ii. 9. 3-4 ; AV. VI. 34. 3 ; VI. 75. 2 ; VII. 84. 3 ; etc. Also cf. TB. III. ii. 10. 1.
2. RV. III. 37. 11; III. 40. 8-9; V. 73. 1; VIII. 13. 15; VIII. 33. 10; VIII.82.1
3. RV. VI. 45. 1 :—'य आनयत्परावतः सुनीती तुर्वशं यदुम् । इन्द्रः स नो युवा सखा॥'
4. RV. I. 36. 18 :—'अग्निना तुर्वशं यदुं परावत उग्रादेवं हवामहे ॥'
5. RV. I. 174. 9; VI. 20. 12 :—'प्र यत्समुद्रमति शूर पर्षि पारया तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ।'
6. RV. I. 108. 8 :—'यदिन्द्राग्नी यदुषु तुर्वशेषु यद्द्रुह्युष्वनुषु पुरुषुस्थः ।
7. RV. VIII. 10. 5 :—'यदद्याश्विनावपाग्यत्प्राक्स्थो वाजिनीवसु ।
   यद्द्रुह्यव्यनवितुर्वशे यदौ हुवे वामथ आगतम् ॥'
8. RV. VIII. 9. 14 ; A. V. XX. 141. 4.
9. 'यन्नासत्या परावति यद्वा स्थो अधि तुर्वशे ।' RV. I. 47. 7.
10. 'न ह्यस्या नाम गृभ्णामि नो अस्मिन्रमते जने । परामेव परावतं सपत्नीं गमयामसि ॥'
    —RV. X. 145. 4; cp. AV. III. 18. 3; Āp. Gṛ. III. 9. 6.
11. AV. V. 22. 7; V. 22. 14.

There seem to be some other indications to prove that Parāvat was really a region on the Earth. For instance, Parāvat seems to be contrasted with the river Sindhu in a Ṛik where two winds are said to blow : one from Sindhu (= ? Indus) and the other from Parāvat. (RV. X. 137. 2 :—'द्वाविमौ वातौ वात आ सिन्धोरा परावतः ।'). Again, the car of dawn being broken in the river Vipaś, she is said

Frāt, or Shatt-el-Fara. In his '*Babylonian Life and History*', Wallis Budge says :—" The earliest dwellers in Babyloia known to us, the Sumerians, called the Euphrates Buranun...i.e. " River " ; in Gen. xv. 18 we have " the great river, the river Perāth " (an expression which exactly corresponds, I should point out, to Paramā Parāvat occurring in the Ṛig-veda and Artharva-veda); the Babylonians and the Assyrians knew it as " Pu-ra-tu "....The Euphrates is formed by the junction of two rivers at Diadin, called Frāt Su, or Kara Su, and Murād Su.''[1] It is unnecessary to add any comment regarding the philological affinity between Parāvat, Frāt, and Pu-ra-tu.

If the Yadus came from the land of Parāvat, they could easily be known as Pārāvatas. The identification of the Yadus and the Pārāvatas has other grounds to back it. From a reference in the Śatapath Brāhmaṇa, Dr. Rai Chaudhuri concludes that the Yadu-Sātvatas must have been occupying some region near about the Jumna and the Ganges as early as the Brāhmaṇa period.[2] Dr. A. Berriedale Keith informs us that the Pārāvatas " are located in the period of the Brāhmaṇas on the Jumna."[3]

Now, Arvā-vat, (= ' A country teeming in horses ') could easily stand for Arabia, which was known in Old Persian as Arbāya. The equation Arvā-vat = Arbāya is not only philologically sound, but is supported by the constant mention of Arvā (= Arabian horse) in the Ṛig-veda[4] and the Brāhmaṇas.[5] Arabia was, and still

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to have flown to Parāvat. (RV. IV. 30. 11.) I have given my respectful consideration to the interpretation put on this word by V. K. Rajwade (who follows Yāska's interpretation with a little change) in ABI., II. p. 122 f.; I confess my inability to accept it (See Nirukta III. 19. 19).

[1] Wallis Budge, p. 3. Compare the following from '*The Dawn of Civilisation*', p. 548 :—" The Euphrates was called in Assyrian Purattu, the river of rīvers, "the great waters", being an adaptation of the Sumerian Pura-nunu ; the Tigris was Diglat or Idiglat." Also, cf. p. 549 :—" In its upper reaches the Euphrates collects a number of small affluents, the most important of which, the Kara-Su, has often been confounded with it."

May I venture to suggest that the word ' Paradise ' may, perhaps, in some way be connected with the name of this great river, Euphrates, to whose valley the description of the Paradise is said to be applicable ? Cf. Eden = Edin; supra, p. 19.

[2] PHAI. p. 117-118.

[3] Camb. H. I., Vol. I, p. 82. This does not necessarily go against Hillebrandt's suggestion that the Pārāvatas are the same as the people Paruetæ of Gedrosia or Aria. We do not understand why Dr. Keith should desparately oppose all the suggestions of this learned writer (Ibid. p. 87).

[4] RV. I. 16. 1 f; I. 73. 9; I. 155. 1; I. 162. 14; II. 33. 1; IV. 38. 10; VI. 45. 12; VI. 54. 5; VII. 90. 6–7; VII. 91. 7; etc.

[5] T. B., III. viii. 9. 2; Ś. B., X. vi. 4. 1; etc. V. S. Agrawala connects 'Arvā' mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas with the Arabian horse, giving valid reasons in support of this suggestion ; but somehow or other, he ignores the occurrence of this word in the Ṛig-veda. Vide J. U. P. Hist. Soc., July, 1940, p. 13.

is, a country famous for horses, and this explains, by the way, the Vedic Aryan's familiarity with the horse ! There is no necessity to invent any other theory for explaining that fact. Again, it is no matter for wonder that Ilah and Allah of the Arabians should be found as Ilā and Allā in Sanskrit literature.

I beg to quote in this connectiòn some observations of an Arabic scholar :— "Two of the three routes by which trade was carried in ancient times between India and the West, passed through Arabia. The first route ran from the mouth of the Indus and up the Euphrates, at the point where the road branches off to Antioch and Levantine ports....The second route, more important than the first, lay from the Indian coast to that of Yaman and Hadramawt and from there, passing along the Red Sea coast, to Syria and thence to Europe, either directly from the Syrian coast or via Egypt and Alexandria. This route was of great importance and the prosperity of South-west Arabia in ancient times was largely due to it, and it formed a highway of commercial traffic until the Ptolemies established an overland route from India to Alexandria."[1]

Again at the risk of being misunderstood, I hazard another identification. In the Ṛig-veda, there is a reference to the Ārjīkas, the Kṛitvas, the people who live (in the land) between the Pastyās (= rivers), and the Pañcha-janas.[2] I believe, I have reason to suspect that these 'people living (in the land) between the two rivers' are Mesopotamians (from μεσος middle, ποταμός, river). Ārjīkās are undoubtedly the people living on the banks of the river Ārjīkīyā ; but I do not think, Yāska is quite correct in identifying it with Vipāś, if he means by it the modern Beas of Punjab. For Ārjīkīyā can well represent modern Ayek[3] or Ayak Nadi, "a small stream which has its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Syalkot."[4] Yet, it is possible that this rivulet might have taken its name from that of some western river, just as the Indian Sarasvatī did from the Iranian Harahvaitī, or possibly, the eastern Sarayū did from the Vedic Sarayū, which seems to be somewhere in the region west of Indus (cf. Iranian Haroyu). And such a river, the prototype of Indian Ārjīkīyā, would probably be Tigris, which in Assyrian synonym-lists has another name Aranzu, Aransuh or Arzania.[5] And this finds some confirmation from Yāska, who is not altogether wrong either ; for, he says :— "Ārjīkīyā is (now) called Vipāś....Formerly she was called Uruñjirā."[1] It seems as if Ārjīkīyā and Uruñjirā are mere sanskritizations of some non-Sanskrit names. There would not be many sceptics, I trust, who would at once set aside this identification Ārjīkīyā-Uruñjirā = Arzania-Aranzu in the same facile way in which they have done others. It is one thing to be a judicious sceptic ; it is quite another to discard everything. It is thus quite possible that the Ārjīkas originally belonged to region round about the river Tigris. In a Ṛig-vedic verse referred to above, the Somas are invoked from wherever they be, whether among the Ārjīkas or among the Pañcha-janas. In the preceding stanza, they are invoked from their abode in Parāvat, Arvāvat, or Śaryaṇāvat.[2] The last-mentioned name is already familiar to all students of ancient Indian geography as the name of some lake. We have perhaps to look for Śaryaṇāvat, not immediately to the west of Kurukshetra as is stated by Sāyaṇa[3] (who undoubtedly follows a very old authority, viz., the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[4]), but somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia.

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[1] Jha Com. Vol., pt. ii. p. 10–11; note also supra, ch. II.

[2] RV. IX. 65. 23 :—'य आर्जीकेषु कृत्वसु ये मध्ये पस्त्यानां ये वा जनेषु पञ्चसु ।'

[3] Cun's. A. G. I. (S. N. Majumdar's ed.), p. 240.

[4] Ibid. p. 212.

[5] In the opinion of Maspero, Kara Su, an affluent of the Euphrates, is the Aranzu or Arzania of the cuneiform texts ; cf. *Dawn af Civilisation*, p. 549.

But, perhaps, there is danger in suggesting too much. I shall, therefore, content myself with only one more suggestion. I have to again confess that I suspect that the river Tigris, mentioned as Tigrā in O. P., has the form 'Tugryā' in the Ṛig-veda.[5] Here Sāyaṇa explains the word as "waters", and he has the ancient authority of Yāska[6] to support him. There is, however, no etymological explanation of that word in that sense available, unless, of course, it is the waters of the river Tigris that are intended. Frequently we come across in the Ṛig-veda passages referring to Tugrya.[7] Sāyaṇa takes it in the sense of "Tugra-putra" (son of Tugra), and actually in some Ṛiks[8] a certain Bhujyu is mentioned as a son of Tugra. They refer to his safe landing across

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1. Nirukta, IX. 25. 3 :—' आर्जीकीयां विपाडित्याहुः ।......पूर्वमासीदुरुञ्जिरा ।'
2. R. IX. 65. 22 :—' ये सोमासः परावति ये अर्वावति सुन्विरे। ये वादः शर्यणावति ।'
3. On RV. IX. 113. 1 :—शर्यणावन्नाम कुरुक्षेत्रस्य जघनार्धे सरः ।
4. Jaim. B., III. 64 :—शर्यणावद्ध नामैतत्कुरुक्षेत्रस्य जघनार्धे सरः।
5. RV. I. 33. 15 :—' आवः शमं वृषभं तुग्र्यासु । etc.'
6. Nirukta II. 24. 2.
7. RV. VIII. 3. 23 :—'अस्तं वयो न तुग्र्यम् ।'
8. RV. VI. 62. 6 :—' ता भुज्युं विभिरद्भ्यः समुद्रात्तुग्रस्य सूनुमूहथू रजोभिः ।'

"The Tigris runs a very swift current, so much so that it is difficult for a boat to work up-stream except by towing"—C. Edward, *The World's Earliest Laws*, p. 111.

the sea, by the aid of Aśvins' birds. Indeed, it is such passages that have led the authors of the Vedic Index[1] to say that "the story of Bhujyu seems to allude to marine navigation." Sāyaṇa seems to retain some form of an old tradition when he explains at one place that Tugra was pested by enemies living beyond the seas, and that therefore he had to send Bhujyu to punish them.[2] Elsewhere, Bhujyu is said to have been carried safely (to that land across the seas) away from his forefathers (Pitṛis),[3] probably the Tugras. Rationally interpreted, the tradition would *perhaps* mean that the people of the Tigris valley or their king had sent some people or tribe known as the Bhujyus (= the Bhojas of the Epics and the Purāṇas ?[4]) to some country beyond the seas, on account of the fact that the occupants of that country infested the region under their or his control. The Bhujyus landed safely in the territory of their enemies, perhaps the Phœnicians (Phaṇis, Paṇis or Nāgas ?)

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[1] II. 432,

[2] On RV. I. 116. 2. which runs :—तुग्रो ह भुज्युमश्विनोदमेघे रयिं न कश्चिन्ममृवानवाहाः । Compare names like Tiglath Pileser, etc. Tugra might be a good equivalent of Tiglath, since Tigris was Idiglat or Diglat. Supra p. 62.

[3] RV. I. 119. 4 :—' युवं भुज्युं भुरमाणं विभिर्गतं स्वयुक्तिभिर्निवहन्ता पितृभ्य आ ।

[4] Vāyu P., IV. 13. 1-5; cf. AB., VIII. 14.

CHAPTER VIII

Mountain

People, who worshipped the snake (Nāga) as the moving spirit of the Earth Goddess, could easily call themselves Nāga-vaṁśīs or simply Nāgas. Such tribes were scattered all over India according to Epic and Purāṇic testimony. And this is in agreement with another fact that hundreds of Śakti-pīṭhas and Īśvara-sthānas are mentioned in those texts, many portions of which are, in all probability, much earlier than the fifth century A. D. It is difficult for me to believe that they have all sprung up like mushrooms within a century or two, by a huge conspiracy on the part of the Brāhmaṇas. Traditions, preserved in them as well as in the Tantras, might occasionally be almost age-old, as is justly asserted by their authors.

And tradition is manifold. It concerns not only divinities, but also their symbols. Hence, in dealing with the symbols, it may not be advisable to ignore the Tāntric view altogether. The Tantras are mainly concerned with symbolic or mystic meaning of things. They connect all symbols with phallic worship, and at times assign definite value to some of them. Such a symbol, according to R. Shama Sastri,[1] is the so-called Stūpa, Chaitya or Meru symbol, which is nothing but a 'mountain-symbol', as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] A. Çoomaraswamy,[3] etc., have already pointed out. Sir A. Evans regards those arches or 'scale-inlays' as 'a conventional representation of rocky landscape', and notes its extremely widespread character.[4] The fact that the Jains draw the figure of their sacred mountain Meru[5] in this fashion need not lead us to take it for a representation of that mountain, and thus to identify it with the cult of Jainism, not only because it is more ancient than Jainism (which was certainly never and nowhere so popular before the Christian era as to influence coinage), but because animals repugnant to that faith, e. g. dog, etc., appear crowning this symbol. It is, therefore, a borrowed design, and may have originally represented the Meru or Sumeru, the seat of Śiva and Umā-Pārvatī and other divinities, which has perhaps to be placed in, or may have been in some way connected with, Sumer: the Ziggurat of Sumer might, *perhaps*, be Sumeru!

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[1] I. A., 1906. 251.

[2] Carm. Lect., 1921, p. 105 f.

[3] *Ostasiatisch Zeitschrift*, N. F., iv, p. 175–179.

[4] l. c., I. 313.

[5] JRAS. 1915. 412. Marshall opines that this symbol is of Mesopotamian origin.

A Ziggurat (Holy Mountain, Hill of Heaven or Mountain of God) was an observatory of astrologer-priests, and was also the seat of deities like Marduk (Baal), Ishtar, etc. Rudra appears as a mountain-dweller even in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.[1] Still I must say that this suggestion relating to 'Sumeru = the Ziggurat of Sumer' is a little far-fetched. It is only hoped that this suggestion is better than the one which identifies Sumeru-khaṇḍa with Samarkhand![2] Meru is the central mountain of Ilā-vṛita (lit., = 'surrounded by Ilā') of the nine Varshas of Purāṇic geography.[3] Ilā-vṛita seems to correspond to what is known in the Avesta as Hara-barəza, (the centre of the world in Avesta) which can be easily Sanskritised into Hara-varsha.[4] In support of this identification, it may be pointed out that not far from Mt. Meru flows the river Vakshu (v. l., Chakshu), which is identical in the opinion of many scholars with the river Oxus. Etymologically, Ilā-vṛita means just the same thing as Kumārī-dvīpa, though, of course, Purāṇic authorities would dispute their identity with regard to their actual position. At any rate, Ilāvṛita is admittedly named after *Ilā* or *Ila*.[5]

Mountains are very intimately connected with Ilā-Aditi or Umā-Ambikā, and Meru is only one such mountain. Aditi appears as Adri-barhā[6] in the Ṛig-veda. In later literature, her names like

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[1] XVI. 2, 3, 4.

[2] Śrī-Madhusūdana Śarmā's *Indra-Vijaya*, 1930, p. 53, st. 52; cf. Halāyudha's *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, I. 135–136 :— 'मेरुः सुरपर्वतो ज्ञेयः ॥ शक्रक्रीडाचलो मेरुः सुमेरुर्हेमपर्वतः । रत्नसानुरिति ख्यातो हेमाद्रिस्त्रिदशाचलः ॥' According to Megasthenes, Indian Dionysos dwelt on Meros which he so named ; Arrian looks upon Meros and Nysa as monuments of the expedition of Bacchus into India (McCrindle, p. 162; 201; etc.) Nundolal Dey, correctly identifies them with Meru and Nishada of the Purāṇas (*Rasātala or the Underworld*, p. 12) and places Meru in the Hindukush. But, may be, Meros was so named later (even as Megasthens avers) and that name originally belonged to some other sacred mount.

[3] Vishṇu P., II. 2. 15–35; II. 8. 113 f.; Bhāgavata P., V. 16. 7 f. :—' एषां मध्ये इलावृतं नामाभ्यन्तरवर्षं यस्या नाभ्यामवस्थितः सर्वतः सौवर्णः...मेरुः...॥ मेरोर्मूर्धनि भगवत आत्मयोनेर्मध्यत उपक्लृप्तां पुरीं...अनु परितो लोकपालानामष्टानां...पुरोऽष्टावुपक्लृप्ताः ॥ '

[4] For Hara-barəza, see Proc. and Tr. 2nd Ori. Conf., p. 85.

[5] Matsya P., XII. 14.

[6] RV. X. 63. 3. Curiously, this epithet finds almost an exact parallel in the word 'Pichchhāchalā', which is used in the sense of 'the Earth' in the Balsāṇā Maṭha inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa (Śaka 1106). This inscription is referred to in Bomb. Gaz. XII. p. 433; An. Pr. Rep. ASI. W. C., 1218–19, p. 45; Cousen's Medieval Temples of the Deccan, p. 26 ; Revised list of Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Pres., p. 15; etc. I owe these references to the kindness of Mr. M. G. Dikshit, who is shortly publishing this inscription in the Epigraphia Indica. He has favoured me with an estampage of this inscription, in which appears the following line :—'यः क्रे (कृ) ष्णस्य महीपतेः करतले कर्ताशु पिछा(च्छा)चलां । '

Pārvatī, Girijā, Durgā etc., bespeak of her connection with mountains, and this connection can be amply illustrated from the texts.[1] She is Mandara-vāsinī or Mandarādrinivāsā.[2] We often come across couplets which would place her abode at once on Vindhya, Himavat, Meru and Kailāsa mountains ![3] An Upanishadic text guarantees her residence in the Himālayas by calling Umā "Haimavatī."[4] But she is a Kumārī or is else referred to as a Kanyā or daughter. So, if she was worshipped on the Himālayas, or if she was placed there by the popular priests like the writers of the Upanishads or the Purāṇas, no doubt, she was bound to be looked upon as a daughter of that mountain. Hence, she was Himavatputrī in later literature.[5]

We have already seen that her Cretan as well as Phrygian counterpart was connected with Mount *Ida*. Pausanias[6] (second century A. D.) informs us that Marpessos on Mount Ida (in Phrygia) was the birth-place of Cybele, the Great Mother Goddess. About Rhea the Cretan Mother Goddess, worshipped on the mount Derce or Ida, we learn that she was very early "identified with the Asiatic *Cybelē* or *Cybēbē*, 'the Great Mother,' a goddess of the power of nature and arts of cultivation, who was worshipped upon mountains in Mysia, Lydia and Phrygia."[7] "The true home of this religion was the Phrygian Pessīnūs, on the river Sangarius, in the district afterwards known as Galatia, where the goddess was called *Agdistis* [Strabo, p. 567] or *Angdistis*, from a holy rock named Agdus upon Mount Dindymus above the town. Upon this mountain, after which the goddess derived her name of *Dindymēnē*, stood her earliest sanctuary, as well as her oldest effigy (a stone that had fallen from heaven)....In Lydia she was worshipped principally on Mount Tmōlus."[8] The impression of a signet ring[9] found in the palace of Knossos in Crete showing the Mountain-Mother as guarded by a lion is alone, as is contended by Dr. Bhandarkar, bound to dispel all illusions about the fact that the so-called Chaitya is really a mountain and is connected with the worship of Pārvatī, the Siṁhavāhinī; besides, Sir Evans has conclusively shown that in Minoan, Assyrian and Phœnecian art the same conventional representation is found.[1] "The Mountain-Mother is the only Greek divinity certainly known to be of prehistoric origin....The mounain stood for earth and the earth is Mother, because she gives life to plants, animals and man. 'The Earth sends up fruits, so praise we Earth the Mother',...was the litany chanted by the priestess of Dodona."[2] Jensen shows that the Babylonians also regarded the Earth as a huge mountain.[3] "In fact, the Earth was actually called E-kur 'mountain house'. Later they began to identify one particular part of the earth, a mountain peak preferably, as the dwelling of the gods," and hence, the temple came to be known as a mountain house.[4] The Mother Goddess of Ur-kashdīm (al-Mugheir or al-Mukayyar) was called Nin-harsag, Nin-hursag, Nin-kharsag or Nin--khursag, which name signifies 'Queen of the Earth-mountain,' 'Lady of the mountain'. She was really Nin-lil, 'the lady of the lower world and the mistress of heaven and earth', the consort ol the earth-god Enlil, who had become paramount lord for alt Sumerians and who had his famous E-kur at Nippur.

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[1] Harivaṁśa, II. ii. 49; III. iii. 6; Hopkins, 224 f.; Kūrma P., XII. 90; 139; etc.; Amara-kośa, st. 41–42.

[2] Bhīshma-parva, (Roy's ed.). XXIII. 4; Kūrma P., XII. 140; etc.

[3] Kūrma P., XII. 175 :—'वृषावेशा वियन्मात्रा विन्ध्यपर्वतवासिनी ।
हिमवन्मेरुनिलया कैलासगिरिवासिनी ॥'

[4] Kena Up..III.12 :–स तस्मिन्नेवाकाशे स्त्रियमाजगाम बहुशोभमानामुमां हैमवतीं etc.

[5] Kūrma P., XII. 90; cf. Matsya P., 154. 52, 61, etc.; Kumāra-saṁbhava I.

[6] JRAS. 1932–33.

[7] DCA, p. 542. It seems that each of the mountain groups in Phrygia as well as in Crete had a sacred grotto where the Mother Goddess was worshipped ; vide Glotz, p. 245f, 257, etc.

[8] DCA. p. 542. Compare the name Aditi with Agdistis.

[9] ERE. VIII, p. 847, 868; also Evans, I, 313; II, 761 f; 808 f.

We have seen that scholars like Sayce, Langdon, etc. connecf Sin, Zuen or Enzu (='Master of wisdom'), the Moongod, with *Mount* Sinai, "which occurs in early documents of the Hebrew scriptures, not earlier than 1,000 B.C.". Langdon regards it as "an ancient North Arbian centre of Moon worship."[5] Elohim was worshipped on it probably as a Moon-goddess, and was connected with mountains.

Again, we have seen that Soma was referred to as Aditi in a Vedic text. The word *chandra-mās* perhaps retains traces of its former connection with Mā, the Universal Mother. In fact *mās* (from which Skt. *māsa* and Slavonic *mesiats* in the sense of 'a

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1. Evans, I. 313.
2. ERE. VIII. 868. Dodona was in Epirus (Greece), an ancient seat of the worship of Zeus and his wife Diōne (a mother goddess) who according to one account was the daughter of Uranus and Gaia (a mother goddess). A female Titan, beloved by Zeus, she became by him the mother of Aphrodite, with whom she was often identified. Such phenomena are quite usual with the Mother Goddess: she becomes her own daughter, because she multiplies herself.
3. *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 185-95; ERE. XII. 147.
4. Ibid.; Gadd, p. 62.
5. l. c., p. 5 f.

month' are to be derived), seems to be used in the Vedas, etc. to denote the moon.[1] Moreover, Yāska appears to sanction our contention when he derives the word chandra-mās from 'chandro mātā' ('moon + mother').[2] Any way, the crescent on the mountain may easily looked upon as the Moon Mother herself.

Mountains are conceived as divinely animate and are associated with "waters, rivers, plants, trees, heaven and earth", in the Ṛig-veda.[3] On coins too we find a similar association in their case. Now, Śakti in her form of Kāmi-kalā is said to be depicted, according to some Tāntric texts, by means of symbols "consisting of one circle to represent face, two circles breast-nipples, and a triangle the mysterious organs.'"[4] We find three circles in a triangular arrangement on coins, which in the opinion of Mr. R. Shama Śastri, are identical with the so-called *stūpa*, and signifies Kāmi-kalā. I do not prefer to go to this length of attributing it to a particular form of Śakti, but I have little doubt that this mountain symbol was rightly regarded in the Tantras as identical with the Mother. In view, however, of the fact that certain Tāntric symbols (such as the one representing Nāda, Śiva, or Kāma as ▪|▪[5] are not much removed from certain symbols found outside India (such as the Cyprian character *ne* ı/ı or the Hittite symbol ı|ı representing the organs of generation), I think that the Tāntric symbols are not an absolute innovation of the priests of that sect. I do not, however, think that it is very necessary to accept all details given by the late Tantras, especially when at times they differ among themselves. I do not, I must make it clear, deny the possibility of a primitive mind conceiving different aspects of the Mother in quite early times. We find, for instance, different aspects of the Sky Father Daksh = Rudra = Dyaush-Pitā = Indra already dealt with in the Ṛig-veda, separately, i. e. under different appellations so as to mislead the modern scholars !

Now the cult of the Goddess is manifold, and Preta-saṁsthā, Śmaśāna-vāsinī, etc. are the very epithets of the Goddess.[6] So

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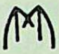
1. ERE. II. 34; cf. *Vedic India*, p. 69.
2. Nirukta, XI. 5. 2.
3. V. M., p. 154.
4. I. A., 1906, p. 261.
5. Ibid. p. 261 f.
6. Agni P. 134. 1; 135. 1.

many of her symbols, including the Mountain, may appropriately appear on funerary pottery, as at Calicut and Pondicherry,[1] where the mountain is depicted as  . The relation between the Earth and the funeral customs or the beliefs in connection with the other world is too well-known to be detailed upon here. I believe that the same mountain symbol occurs—though in a different form—at the bottom of the seal attached to the Poona Plates of Prabhāvati-Guptā,[2] though its learned editors have unfortunately taken it for a lotus. Its association with the Sun and the Moon confirms its character as a sacred symbol. We have noticed the connection between the Goddess and the Moon, and the exact position of the Sun-god in the cult may be noted below. The connection of the sacred mountain with the Goddess also serves to explain why often in literature and folk-lore mountain is represented as "the abode of Nāgas",[3]—a fact which has led Dr. Vogel to ask :—"Is the Nāga sometimes conceived as the spirit of the mountain?"[4] I should, without much hesitation, answer this query in the affirmative, in so far as the beliefs connected with serpent-worship are identical with those connected with the cult of the all-pervading, all-embracing Nude Goddess. Nāga was, in fact, looked upon as the very embodiment of Primordial Energy.

Writing about the crescented mountain, Theobald has shrewdly observed : "This is the most general mode of representing this structure and the symbol is obviously a planetary one. The crescent may, however, refer to Mahādeva, ... who is represented with the crescent moon on his forehead, in right, we may presume, of his consort or Śakti."[5] Or it may refer to the lunar forms of the Goddess, e. g. Sinīvālī, Salene, etc.

Pillars : are some times depicted on coins. The connection between pillars and mountains as well as that between pillars and serpents is very intimate. Pillars like mountains were regarded as the seat of the Mother Goddess, and on the Mycenean cylinders of Cyprus, "the goddess of Paphos is associated with a pillar entwined by a serpent."[6] Tyrian coins show serpents in connection with pillars as well as with trees and altars.[7] Theobald looks

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1. I. A., 1931, p. 137 f.
2. E. I., XV. p. 39 f.
3. Vogel, 33; 119; 146; etc.
4. Ibid. p. 33.
5. Theobald, p. 214.
6. ERE. XI. 399 f.
7. Ibid.

upon the pillar on coins as a solar symbol and as such connected with the worship of the Magna Mater's consort or with Nature-worship.[1] There are at least some scholars like W. Stukeley, who envisage the possibility of connecting the megaliths with serpent-worship,—which is only a form of the Goddess-worship. Any way, megaliths may be independently connected with phallic worship, as will be seen when we come to Tree-worship. E. S. Hartland also admits that there is " evidence that megalithic monuments,... have been taken for phalli, or at least thought to have procreative power. "[2] The author of the book *de Dea Syria* (xvi) describes the obelisks in the vestibules of the temple of the goddess at Hierapolis as phalli, and adds that they bear the inscription : " I, Dionysus, dedicated these phalli to Hera, my stepmother."[3] Lastly Dr. J. H. Hutton,[4] the eminent anthropologist, has, in a series of articles, decisively proved that the erection of prehistoric monoliths in India as well as in some foreign countries often takes the form of *liṅga* and *yoni*. He shows that "megalithic culture...is intimately connected with a cult of the dead and also with a phallic cult."[5]

In Sanskrit literature, puns are often made on the word *Sthāṇu* which has a double sense : (1) a lithic pillar and (2) Śiva, the spouse of Pārvatī.[6] There are undoubtedly passages in the Brāhmaṇas which identify Yūpa and Sthāṇu.[7] The pressing stones (grāvans) are spoken of as *adris* or mountains in the Ṛig-vedic hymns. They are " immortal, unaging and more mighty even than heaven ", and verily are like ' bulls ', and are to be invoked to drive away demon and destruction, and to bestow wealth and offspring.[8] We should remember here the number of *sthūṇā*s as well as the gold-leaf representation of Pṛithivī found by Dr. Bloch[1] in the funerary mounds at Lauriya Nandangarh : the figure of the Earth Goddess has connection with both *sthūṇās* and the śmaśāna. In an ancient cemetery excavated at Ujjain by Mr. Garde, under whom I was working, were found some pressing stones (grāvāṇaḥ) as well as an ulūkhala.[2] Undoubtedly, the grāvans represented *liṅgas* and the ulūkhala a *yonī*.[3] A pestle represented the phallus also among the Chinese and the Japanese.[4]

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[1] Theobald, p. 229, etc.

[2] ERE. IX. 819.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Antiquity, III. (1929), p. 324 f.; J. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vols. LII and LVI. Many authorities agree in connecting obelisks with Sun-worship (Myth. A. R., XII. 30 f.), which is so closely connected with the worship of the Mother-Goddess. On the other hand, Sir James Frazer finds 'nothing of value' to connect the megaliths of the southern seas with Sun-worship, but " a good deal to connect them with the worship of the dead." (MI. IV. p. 1). But the latter worship is very intimately connected with the worship of the Mother Earth, and, as will be made clear later on, so is the Sun-worship.

[5] E. B. II. 522.

[6] Cf. Kādambarī *Pūrva-bhāga* (Parab) p. 39 :—' गिरितनयेव स्थाणुसङ्गता मृगपतिसेविता च ।

[7] Ś. B., III. vi. 2. 5.

[8] V. M., p. 154–55. For bulls, see infra.

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[1] ASI-AR. 1906–7; Camb. H. I., I. 616.

[2] Mr. M. B. Garde has unfortunately not mentioned this significant fact in his ‘ *Annual Administration Report of the Archæological Department*, Gwalior State ’ for the year 1938–39, which contains an account of the excavation. There are some things in it which may not be very clear, I think, without further elucidation. For instance, I do not know why the learned writer should call Veśyā tekṛī ‘Vaiśya tekṛī’; but if this be correct, it may not be perhaps very difficult to connect it with the Vaiśya Queen of Aśoka. The whole account seems to be a little abrupt where scholarly interest is concerned, and if I may venture to suggest, fuller details of the finds would have been more welcome. I should also respectfully point out a few inaccuracies, that have unfortunately crept into it. Thus to assign all the coins (including even those that served as a prototype for certain coins of the beginning of the third century A.D.), to the second or third century B.C. may not be advisable. And the skeletal and other remains just below them should not in any case remind anybody of ‘ Mohenjo-daro antiquities ’ (see Report, p. 17). There is hardly anything to suggest that the earliest level we reached anywhere in Ujjain was earlier than the Mauryan period. It is only necessary to examine the actual site, Kumbhār tekṛī, to correct that impression; for even the lowest level here seldom yields the burnished Mauryan ware. It was also not very necessary to refer to his favourite theory regarding their ‘sudden death in some catastrophe’ as, in spite of its romantic appeal, it stood already refuted by the references (supplied by us) to which he alludes in this connection.

[3] Ś. B., VII. v. 1. 38 :—‘ योनिरुलूखलं...शिश्नं मुसलम् ।’
Cf. RV. I. 28. I f.:—‘यत्र ग्रावा पृथुबुध्न ऊर्ध्वो भवति सोतवे ।
उलूखलसुतानामवेदिन्द्र जल्गुलः ।।
यत्र द्वाविव जघनाधिषवण्या कृता ।
उलूखल.........।।
यत्र नार्यपच्यवमुपच्यवं च शिक्षते ।
उलूखल.........।।’

[4] ERE. IX. 818.

CHAPTER IX

The Tree of Life

"Trees were connected with standing stones. In ancient Egypt, the pillar symbol of the goddess and the tree symbol were interchangeable, and both were adorned with cult animals." The pyramid form of the shrine, the mountain of dawn, plants, etc. "were combined in the complex symbolism of Egypt; the tree and mountain (world pillars) were both forms of the Mother Goddess."[1] The Egyptians "worshipped trees which concealed under their foliage the goddess Nut or Hathor or personified Osiris (sycamore, fir, olive, cypress)."[2] Hat-hor was essentially identical with the Sumerian Nin-khursag or Nin-harsag, each of them being protectress of the necropolis (in addition to having other attributes to be noted below), and this is also an essential characteristic of the Indian Mother Goddess.

In Babylonia was found a seal having "an erect serpent between two seated figures on either side of a sacred tree."[3] The Tyrian coins, already referred to, show trees associated with pillars and serpents, both of which are fertility symbols. Theobald holds that the Assyrian tree and the Hebrew grove are symbols of Nature worship homologous with the 'sistrum' or yoni of Isis and the phallus or liṅga of Mahādeva.[4] Trees, like wells and springs, were sacred among the Israelites, and "we know from so many sources that whatever sacred trees and springs existed (which has been the world over), part of the ritual in connection with them consisted of the sacred dance."[5]

In Phœnician art, the palm-tree has a cult significance. Philo Byblius[6] has remarked that among the Phœnicians and the Canaanites, plants in ancient times worshipped as gods, and honoured with libations and sacrifices.

The Israelites are said to have served at one time "Ba'alim and the groves",[7] when, of course, they had forgotten 'the Lord their God'. The worship of groves, however, seems to have been current among them in early times, since Abraham is said to have

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[1] Mackenzie, pp. 178–179, On Tree-worship, read esp. J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, Mannhardt's *Baumkultus*, R. Smith's *The Religion of the Semites*.

[2] Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian civilzation*, p. 364.

[3] ERE. XI. 399.

[4] Theobald, p. 212.

[5] W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance*, p. 89.

[6] Allen, p. 103.

[7] Judges, iii. 7.

" planted a grove in Beer-sheba "[1] (situated 20 miles S. of Hebron at the southern end of Canaan), in the name of the Lord. It was generally the privilege probably of the worshippers of Ba'alim and Ashtoreth to serve " their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree ; "[2] and the Old Testament ordains that " Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord."[3]

In Arabia, the mightiest goddess al-Uzza had at Nakla near Mecca, " sanctury which is said to have consisted only of three trees ;"[4] in fact, she was identical with those trees themselves.[5] The cult of the sacred tree was no doubt intimately connected with the cult of pillar in Aegean isles,[6] as it was in ancient Arabia. In fact, as Prof. Roberson Smith says : " In all parts of the Semitic area, trees were adored as divine." " Among the species thus honoured he enumerates especially the pines and cedars of Lebanon, the evergreen oaks of the Palestine hills, the tamarisks of the Syrian jungles and the acacias of the Arabian wadies."[7]

Gold signet-rings[8] from the Isle of Mochlos, from Mycenae, from the harbour town of Knossos, etc., show the Goddess sitting under the sacred tree. " In Aegean art the living tree is represented sometimes singly, *sometimes* in groups of three or in groves," but mostly connected with the cult of pillar or with the worship of the Celestial Goddess : the palm tree, the fig and cypress were, of all trees, the most sacred and hence the most frequently depicted.[9] Elsewhere I find it mentioned that of the representations of trees, the triads are ' very common '.[10]

Among the Greeks, Demeter, the Mother Earth, as a Goddess of fertility and abundance was connected with marriage and agriculture ; she was also " the Mountain-Mother, the Mother of Gods, represented with the pillar of her sacred tree ", and may therefore, be compared not only with Isis but also with " Hat-hor and her sacred sycamore."[11] " Besides fruit and honeycombs, the cow and the sow were offered to her, both as emblems of productivity. Her attributes are poppies and ears of corns (also symbols of fruitfulness), a basket of fruits and a little pig. "[12] Fig was sacred to her as to Gaia.[1] To Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, "especially of wedded love and fruitfulness", some plants like the myrtle, poppy and rose, and some animals like the ram, he-goat and dove were sacred.[2] Rhea-Cybele, daughter of Gaia and the mother of Zeus and Demeter, was worshipped on mounts, Dirce, Ida, Dindymus, Tmōlus, etc. To her, the oak and pine were sacred.[3] Europa, like Rhea, had the cypress and the palm sacred to her,[4] a feature inherited from the Ægean goddess.

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[1] Genesis, xxi. 33.

[2] Deuteronomy, xii. 2-3.

[3] Ibid. xvi. 21.

[4] ERE. I. 660, col. ii.

[5] Ibid. p. 666, col. ii.

[6] Glotz, p. 229.

[7] Allen, p. 102.

[8] Evans, II. 249 f.; 340 f.; etc.

[9] ERE. XII. 499 f.; Glotz, 236 f.; see fig. 37.

[10] ERE. I. 144. col. i.

[11] ERE. XII. 449 f.

[12] D. C. A., 178. SCD. 184.

In Bengal, Manasā, the most popular snake-goddess, is generally worshipped, especially on Nāga-pañchamī day (Śrāvaṇaśukla-pañchamī), by placing an earthen pot, marked with vermilion, under a plant (Euphorbia).[5] On Amāvāsyā day of the month of Jyeshṭha in Northern India and on Paurṇimā day of the same month in the Southern India, when the famous tale of Satyavān and Sāvitrī is recited or heard by pious women to secure long life and prosperity, Sāvitrī (who is undoubtedly identical with Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī or Mother Goddess) is worshipped in the form of a *vaṭa tree*. Vaṭa and Aśvattha are declared in a Tāntric work called Bṛihad-rudrālaya as trees under which a lithic piece might be worshipped as Śiva.[6]

Dr. Vogel[7] shows that sometimes, in India, "the snake is supposed to reside in the tree and in all probability was originally conceived as its spirit"—just as, we may add, it was conceived in the sacred *yoni-paṭṭa* as the fertility essence of Nature. "Round about Bangalore", informs another author, "...three or more stones are found together, having representations of serpents carved upon them....These stones are erected always under the sacred fig-tree."[8] At another place we learn that *Aśvattha* (Ficus Religiosa) is the "habitat" of unseemly spirits, with at times a serpent idol (or a gaṇapati) beneath it.[9] In fact another name for the Aśvattha is said to be Nāga-bandhu (' the friendly shelter of the Nāgas ').[1] Queen Vilāsavatī, the consort of Tārāpīḍa, is said to have performed, in order to obtain progeny, whatever she learnt from any source as ensuring it. Thus, she slept in the sanctuaries of Chaṇḍikā, visited the neighbouring Mātṛikā-bhavanas (= temples of mother goddesses), bathed in tanks connected with Nāgakulas (' families of serpents '), performed pradakshiṇas (circumambulation) round great trees like the Ficus Religiosa and others.[2] Again, her bedstead is said to have been adorned by the leaves of the Ficus Religiosa, Nimba, etc.[3] Satyavatī, wife of Ṛichīka Bhārgava, embraces an Aśvattha tree in order that she may obtain an off--spring, just as her mother clasps an Udumbara tree to get a child.[4] Āśāpūrnā, the tutelary divinity of the Bundi State, showed herself out of a Pippal (Aśvattha) tree to protect the queen, according to a Rājput tradition.[5] Lastly, in a list of the names of the Naked Goddess, Vandanīyā is said to be her form that resides in the Aśvattha.[6] Aśvattha verily represents all the sylvan empire.[7]

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[1] Glotz. p. 236.

[2] DCA. 40; SCD. 54.

[3] DCA. 542–543; Glotz, 236.

[4] Glotz, p. 236.

[5] This vermilion-mark is reminiscent of blood sacrifice. The Earth-worship was essentially orgiastic, the sacrifices being primarily intended for the appeasement and fostering as it were of the Mother Earth so that she may be more fruitful. Human sacrifices were originally connected with her and we can now understand why they were offered to certain Nāga deities as well. Vide JASB. 1870, i. p. 214f.; Vogel, 261, etc.

[6] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 79.

[7] Vogel, p. 271.

[8] I. A., IV. 5.

[9] I. H. Q., 1935. 480. Incidentally, we may remember that the Egyption sycamore, out of which coffins were made, closely resembles Indian fig-tree. Again, according to Genesis, xxxv. 8, Deborah Rebekah's nurse "was buried beneath Beth-el under an oak". (Cf. also 1 Samuel, xxxi. 12–13).

" Every tree in a Nāga tope is held sacred ",[8] and sacred trees of Pala, Elañjī, Vappu, etc., are in the South India ' particularly associated with the shrines of Bhagavatī and Serpents '.[9] Dr. Vogel says :— " It is believed (in South India) that a woman will obtain children if she walks round the trees 108 times for 45 days consecutively."[10] It is his considered opinion that " Serpent worship...is therefore closely associated with tree worship." [11] Serpent is the essence of the fertilising spirit in Nature. Tree is the embodiment of that spirit. A Jātaka makes a tree " the dwelling place of Nāgas."[12] I may also draw attention of the reader to a reference in the Daśakumāra-charita to a deity dwelling in a Vanaspati (plant).[1] The Epic mythology also refers to "goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children."[2] No lover of Sanskrit literature need be reminded of the "ā-parva-bhāgotthita" sylvan deities that offered those ever remembered parting presents to Śakuntalā.

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[1] JASB. 1870, pt. i. p. 213.)

[2] Kādambarī (Parab's ed.), p. 128 f.:—
'यद्यत्किञ्चित्कुताश्चिच्छुश्राव गर्भतृष्णया तत्तत्सर्वं चकार। ...चण्डिकागृहेषु सुष्वाप ।... दर्शितप्रत्ययानि संनिधानमातृकाभवनानि जगाम। प्रसिद्धेषु नागकुल-ह्रदेषु ममज्ज। अश्वत्थ-प्रभृतीनुपपादितपूजान्महावनस्पतीन्कृतप्रदक्षिणा ववन्दे ॥'

[3] Ibid. p. 136-127 :—' अवलम्बितबालयोक्त्रग्रथितलोलपिप्पलपत्रम्, आसक्तहरितारिष्टपल्लवम्...गर्भोचितं शयनतलमधिशयानाम्... । '

[4] Vana-parva, ch. 115f. (of the so-called Vulgate ed. of Mbh.; ABI. XVIII p. 22).

[5] Tod, II. 368.

[6] Matsya P. XIII. 51.

[7] A. B., VII. 32. 8. 16 :—साम्राज्यं वा एतत् वनस्पतीनां (यदश्वत्थः) । Cf. Ś. B., VII. v. 1. 15. 'अथो सर्वऽएते वनस्पतयो यदुदुम्बरः । '

[8] I. H. Q., 1935, p. 485.

[9] Ibid. 481.

[10] Vogel, p. 270.

[11] Ibid. 270f.; 103; 13f.; etc.

[12] IV. 221f.

In Aegean civilization and among the Phœnicians, *the palm-tree*, we have seen, had a cult significance. And so it had in Egypt where the tree is very common.[3] The Egyptian fertility goddess Maskhonit, "who appeared by the child's cradle at the very moment of its birth", "is represented in human form and often wears upon her head two palm-shoots, curling over at their ends."[4] In Mesopotamia and Arabia, where the tree abounded, it seems to have been adored. At Nejran (in Arabia), for instance, a date palm, adorned "with fine clothes and woman's ornaments", was worshipped.[5] In India, this tree is not so very common as in the above-mentioned countries, except in the coastal districts; and yet, we find the hands and the forehead of Ilā, also called here Sarasvatī, graced with palm-branches.[6] This, we believe, is an indication of the fact that the cult migrated from the West to the East, and not *vice versa*. In terracotta figurines of Mitra (Śuṅga) and Kuśāna periods, this celestial divinity has her head-dress beautified with branches of the sacred palm-tree. Mostly she has prominent ear-rings, from which stream forth the palm-branchs, and this characteristic finds mention in Sanskrit literature.[7] In the Kādambarī, date and other palm-trees are said to occupy the court-yard of a temple of Chaṇḍikā, along with the Bilva trees.[8]

In a certain text, the *Bilva tree* is identified with Śrī-phala and is said to have been always dear to the Goddess. Its birth is assigned to mountains Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Himālaya, etc., and it is added that the Devī can be propitiated by adoring the twig of that tree,[1] probably because she is identical with that twig. Bilva-vṛiksha is at times represented as a favourite of the Goddess ; at times, it becomes a favourite of her consort Śankara,[2] by the simple rule that whatever is dear to one's beloved is bound to be appreciated by oneself. The Gols and the Dombaris too have their Mother Goddess in Ellammā or Yellammā, to whom also the *nimb* seems to have been sacred. We learn of an idol of hers in Jat State "that the worshippers (the Gols, Dombaris, etc.), before commencing the worship, strip naked, apply powdered sandal-wood to their folded hands, and leave their places of residence to visit the idol."[3]

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[1] Ullāsa V, Kulkarni's ed., p. 82.

[2] Hopkins, p. 7.

[3] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 121; cf. p. 555.

[4] Ibid. p. 82. Palm-tree is found on ancient Hebrew coins of Judæa as also on Roman coins.

[5] Allen, p. 102.

[6] Bṛihat-stotra-ratnākara, Stotra 85 (Bhagavatī Ashṭaka). 1-2 :—
'नमोस्तु ते सरस्वति त्रिशूलचक्रधारिणी(णि) सिताम्बरावृते शुभे मृगेन्द्रपीठसंस्थिते ।
...तमालहस्तमण्डिते तमालभालशोभिते गिरामगोचरे इले नमोस्तुते महेश्वरि ।।'

[7] Ibid. stotra 88, st. 5 :—'वालीभृति श्रवसि तालीदलं वहति यालीकशोभितिलका सालीकरोतु मम काली मनः स्वपदनालीकसेवनविधौ ।'

[8] Kādambarī (Parab's ed.). p. 394–401.

In the Ṛigvedic Āprī-sūktas, invocations are often made to Vanaspatī in the tenth or at times in the eleventh stanza.[4] A full sūkta, which occurs, with a little change, in both the Ṛigveda and the Atharvaveda, is addressed to Vanaspati in order to get the upperhand of one's co-wife.[5] We find not a few sūktas in the Atharvaveda devoted to Oshadhis,[6] or to Vanaspatis. Two of them call Oshadhi Arundhatī,[7] which epithet is later on personified into a Satī by the Purāṇas, etc. At one place the Oshadhis are said to be off-springs of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother.[8] At another place, it alludes to a plant (Oshadhi) as 'a goddesṣ born of the

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[1] J. A. S. B., 1870, p. i. p. 227 quotes :—
'मेरुमन्दरकैलासहिमवच्छिखरे गिरौ। जातः श्रीफलवृक्ष त्वं अम्बिकायाः सदा प्रियः ॥... पूज्यो दुर्गास्वरूपतः। ...गृहीत्वा तव शाखां च देवीपूजां करोम्यहम्।...देवैर्गृहीत्वा तच्छाखां पूज्या (पूजिता ?) दुर्गेति विश्रुतिः ॥ हिमालयाद्रिसंभूत पार्वत्याहितविग्रह। शिवालिङ्गितसर्वाङ्ग बिल्ववृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते ॥'

[2] Purushārtha-chintāmaṇi, p. 83 :—
अमृतोद्भवं श्रीवृक्षं शङ्करस्य सदा प्रियम्। बिल्ववृक्षं प्रयच्छामि पवित्रं ते सुरेश्वरि॥

[3] I. A., 1881. 245f. We have already quoted Hopkins to show that Ellammā is identical with Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśu-Rāma. Another writer informs us that in a village named Chandra-giri in Mysore State, Reṇukā Ammā is worshipped likewise, when the devotee "is required to proceed from his home to the temple, in a state of nudity." I. A., 1882. 122 f. An interesting parallel to this form of the Goddess, Reṇukā, who loses her head at the hand of her son, is found in the Egyptian Isis. "We hear...of how her head was cut off by her son... ; and how Thoth... replaced it with that of a cow" (NCM. p. 93), instead of that of a horse.

[4] RV. I. 13. 11; I. 142. 11; I. 188. 10; II. 3. 10; III. 4. 10; V. 5. 10; VII. 2.10; IX. 5. 10; X. 70. 10.

[5] RV. X. 145; AV. III. 18.

[6] AV. VI. 21; VI. 59; VI. 95; VIII. 7; IV. 12; VI. 109; etc.

[7] AV. VI. 59. 1; VIII. 7. 6.

[8] AV. VIII. 7. 2.

Earth Goddess';[1]—with this may be compared the reference to Aśvattha as "a man born out of a man"[2] in a hymn, in which the Ficus Religiosa is invoked to dispel the enemies. In the Ṛigveda, we find a Vanaspati invoked as growing out of the Earth.[3]

In this connection may be noted some interesting parallels from foreign countries also. "In a sacred acacia at Nakla (in Arabia) a goddess was supposed to live."[4] "The Acacia is one of the most sacred trees of Egypt; and Egyptian monuments, with their usual frankness, show us a sarcophagus from which an acacia emerges, with the native motto, "Osiris springs forth"."[5]

Oshadhis are called 'mothers' and 'goddesses', and they are invoked chiefly with waters and mountains.[6] The Kṛishṇa Yajurveda Saṁhitā prescribes an animal sacrifice to plants to remove any obstacles in the attainment of offsprings.[7] Invocation to the sacred plant in the words "Oshadhe trāyasva" is "an often recurring" phenomenon in the various Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda.[8]

The above-given references to Oshadhis or Vanaspatis as being born out of the Earth become interesting in view of an oblong sealing excavated at Harappa, wherein the nude divinity is depicted as Uttānapad or Uttānapadā, "with a plant issuing out of her womb."[9] "The representation of the Earth Goddess with a plant growing from her womb is not unnatural; for similar terracotta relief of the early Gupta age was found at Bhita in the United Provinces; on this the Goddess is shown with legs apart, and a plant coming from the neck instead of the womb."[10] We frequently come across, in the Brāhmaṇas, passages, which declare the Earth as the base or origin of all the Oshadhis.[11] She is their mother.[12]

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[1] AV. VI. 136. 1 :—देवी देव्यामधिजाता पृथिव्यामस्योषधे।

[2] AV. III. 6. 1 :—पुमान्पुंसःपरिजातोऽश्वत्थः खादिरादधि।

[3] 'उच्छ्रयस्व वनस्पते वर्ष्मन्पृथिव्या अधि।'—RV. III. 8. 3.

[4] Allen, p. 103.

[5] Ibid. p. 97.

[6] VM. 154; RV. X. 97. 4 = YV. XII. 78 = TS. IV. ii. 6. 1 :—
'ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवीरुप ब्रुवे।'

[7] ERE. XII. 147; V. M., 154; T. S., II. i. 5. 3.

[8] R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol. p. 44.

[9] Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I. p. 52.

[10] J. Sind Hist. Soc., III. p. 86.

[11] A. B., II, 11 ;—'इयं वा ओषधीनां प्रतिष्ठा।'

[12] AV. XII. I. 17 :—'विश्वस्वं मातरमोषधिनां ध्रुवां भूमिं पृथिवीं धर्मणा धृताम्।'

She is the *yoni* of Oshadhis and Vanaspatis.[1] She firmly supports the Vanaspatis and the mountains.[2]

Uttānā, Uttānapad or Uttānapadā is a constant epithet of the Mother Goddess.[3] And why? Because the Earth seems to give birth to plants and trees in a upward direction. But these very epithets belong not only to the Earth Mother, but to the Sky Father also.[4] They are, I believe, difficult of explanation unless we take recourse to Sumerian and Babylonian seals, where the male deity is depicted as uttāna.[5] The connecting link is, perhaps, to be found in Mesopotamia in the names of Mes-anni-padda, and his son A-anni-padda, (kings who perhaps lived in about 3100-3020 B.C.), Uta-napishtim (of the " man of Shurippak " mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh), etc. Uttāna-pada reminds us of epithets like Ūrdhvabudhna (of the Sun-god, according to Yāska,)[6] Ūrdhvamūla (of the eternal Aśvattha in the Bhagavadgītā,[7] which to me seems to be identical with the Sky Father or with the Sun-god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa), etc. According to the Epic and Purāṇic tradition Uttānapāda belonged to the Sūrya-vaṁśa (Solar dynasty), and his son was Dhruva (the Pole Star), who is also called Auttānapādi in the Amarakośa.[8] The Pole Star could easily be looked upon as an issue of either the Sky Father or the Sun-god, the latter alternative being more in accordance with the tradition. It shall be shown later how the Sky Father and the Sun-god, who are the same as Śiva and Vishṇu respectively, are in reality identical, according to " pre-Vedic " mythology. This discussion also enables us to understand that cryptic passage in the Ṛigveda which makes the

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[1] Śārīra-bhāshya of Śaṅkarāchārya on Brahma-sūtra I. iv. 27 :—
' योनिशब्दश्च प्रकृतिवचनः समधिगतो लोके ' पृथिवी योनिरोषधिवनस्पतीनाम्' इति ।'
The sūtra is : ' योनिश्च गीयते । '. It refers to some Brāhmaṇa passage like the following in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XII. 4. 1. 7 :—' योनिर्वाऽइयम् । '

[2] RV. V. 84. 3 and 1.

[3] Khila after RV. X. 184, stanza 2 :— ' यथेयं पृथिवी मह्युत्ताना गर्भमादधे । '
Cf. RV. II. 10. 3 ; RV. III. 29. 3 = YV. 34. 14 ; RV. I. 164. 14 ; RV. V. 1. 3 ; also the epithet of Oshadhi, viz. Uttāna-parṇā, in RV. X. 145. 2 = AV. III. 18. 2.

[4] RV. I. 164. 33. = Nirukta IV. 21. 1 = (with a little change) AV. IX. 10. 12 :—
' द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयम् ।
उत्तानयोश्चम्वोर्योनिरन्तरत्रा पिता दुहितुर्गर्भमाधात् ॥ '

[5] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Vol., p. 122 f. Father Heras does not convince me that the Mohenjodaro seal is definitely of a male divinity.

[6] Nirukta XII. 38. 1 on AV. X. 8. 9.

[7] Bhagavad-gītā XV. 1.

[8] Amarakośa, st. 103; Bhāgavata P., IV. 8. 7f. Matsya P., 125. 5 :—
'योऽसौ चतुर्दशर्क्षेषु शिशुमारो व्यवस्थितः । उत्तानपादपुत्रोऽसौ मेंधीभूतो ध्रुवो दिवि ॥'

Earth the daughter of Uttānapad or Uttānapada[1] the Sky Father, who is undoubtedly identical with Daksha, the father of Aditi. Aditi is Daksha's mother too, for it is very difficult to say, who is born of whom : the Earth of the Sky, or the Sky of the Earth. It is the Earth that supports and produces all beings and all plants, etc., through the agency of the Sky Father, who is known by various names, Parjanyo, Maghavā, Vṛishā, Harihayaḥ, Prāchīnabarhis (–tathā). Thus the Father puts his seed in the yoni of his daughter,[2] or as the Nirukta explains Parjanya in the Earth. Parjanya is identical with Varuṇa.[3] The identity of Varuṇa with the Greek deity of the sky Uranus, son and husband of Gaia, the Earth, and father of Rhea-Cybele, the "Mother of gods", has been already suggested by some scholars. Unfortunately, it has been vehemently denied by others, including that great Vedic scholar Prof. Kshetreśa Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya.[4] It is from the limbs of this Greek Sky Father, which fell into the sea, that another mother goddess sprang up, assuming an appropriate name Aphrodite.[5]

We learn about Anu, previously identified by us with Daksha, the following details :—He is, indeed, one who "is heaven itself—

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[1] Appendix A.

[2] At Athens, there was formerly an image of the Earth-goddess praying to Zeus for rain. Frazer, *The Magic Art, etc.*, II. 359.

Nirukta IV. 21. 1 (on RV. I. 164. 33, quoted above) :—

'उत्तान उत्ततान ऊर्द्ध्वतानो वा तत्र पिता दुहितुर्गर्भं दधाति पर्जन्य: पृथिव्या: ॥'

Cf. Sāyaṇa on the same Ṛik.

RV. V. 83. 4 :—

'इरा विश्वस्मै भुवनाय जायते यत्पर्जन्य: पृथिवीं रेतसावति।'

(Parjanya is identified with द्यौ: and is called "Asuraḥ pitā naḥ" in RV. V. 18. 6).

RV. VII. 101. 6 :—

'स (पर्जन्य: स्वराट्) रेतोधा वृषभ: शश्वतीनां तस्मिन्नात्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च।'

[3] RV. V. 85. 3f. :—

'नीचीनबारं वरुण: कबन्धं प्रससर्ज रोदसी अन्तरिक्षम्।
तेन विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजा यवं न व्युष्टिर्व्युनत्ति भूम ॥ उनत्ति भूमिं पृथिवीं etc.'

Compare with the above given quotation, RV. I. 24. 7 :—

'अबुध्ने राजा वरुणो वनस्योर्ध्वं स्तूपं ददते पूतदक्ष:।
नीचीना: स्थुरुपरि बुध्न एषामस्मे अन्तर्निहिता: केतव: स्यु: ॥'

[4] Vide the discussion in Presidential Addresses (Vedic section) of the 8th & 9th Oriental Conferences ; also JBORS. XII. 336f. Very recently, Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh has sought to prove the equation : Gk. *ouranos* = Hittite *u-ru-van-a* = Skt. varuṇa, showing that *una* in the Skt. form is only a thematisation of the the weak-grade form *-un* of the suffix *van*, which is found in the Hittite form as well as in the Gk. *ouranós* ∠ *ovorvanos*. J. Greater Ind. Soc. VIII. 1941. 98 f.

[5] Human sacrifices offered to her at Salamis (in Cyprus) confirm her character as a mother goddess. Frazer, *The Dying God*, 166.

'ana'—the immense vault which spreads itself above our heads, clear during the day when glorified by the sun, obscure and strewn with innumerable star clusters during the night. Afterwards it becomes the spirit which animates the firmament, or the god which rules it: he resides *in the north towards the pole.*"[1] "His role was determined for the first time by Lenormant...who, after at first regarding him as the primordial chaos,..." first material emanation from the divine existence," recognized that Anu was identical with *Anna*, *ana*, the heaven, and combined the idea of firmament with that of the Time-god, Κρόνος, and the world Κοσμος to bring it into conformity with the conceptions contained in a passage of Damascius. The identity of Anu with the heaven and consequently his character of Heaven-god, are now generally recognized."[2]

It must be clear to every student of the Ṛig-veda by now that here we have almost a complete solution of the famous Ṛig-vedic hymn of Creation referred to above. Daksha is not only Uttānapada; he is also Sat, the Primordial Principle, responsible for the Creation of the universe.[3] The above-given quotations also prove that Daksha is originally identical with Rudra-Mahākāla, the Indian Time-god,[4] and the husband of Pārvatī: he is also anna-pati and is in fact the same as anna (food). Incidentally, if Daksha is identical with Sat, Aditi must be equated with Asat: They are the same as Purusha and Prakṛiti, Māyin and Māyā, who are known to the Chinese as Yang and Yin respectively. Asat or Māyā is, of course, not a very healthy factor, for after all she is a woman (and the savage in man is hardly ever prepared to acknowledge the greatness in women!). The Chinese recognized Yin as an evil spirit, and so among the Hebrew Kabbalists *He* represented "the passive substance, the feminine principle, the universal plastic soul, having potentiality for evil."[5] Asat is evil indeed, but is dormant, since she can be propitiated to yield all blessings. In Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, etc., we often come across phrases like Asad-vā idam-agra āsīt (TB. II. vii. 1), Asad-ev=edam-agra āsīt (Chhādogya Up. III. 19), etc.,—phrases, which are misinterpreted by Śaṅkarāchārya (on Brahma-sūtra, II, i. 17.) Asat-Prakṛiti corresponds in some measure to the Egyptian Nu or Nun[6] representing the inert primeval chaos or dark, that contained the germs of all existence. Nu has been

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1. *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 650. Italics ours.
2. Ibid. p. 651.
3. Appendix A.
4. 'कालो हि भगवान्रुद्रस्तश्च संवत्सरं विदुः । तस्मादुमा कालरात्रिः...।'
—Matsya 133. 40.
5. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 41.
6. NCM. 127–128.

without a beginning, is self-created, and is quite capable in herself to conceive and beget. From her sprang not only Ra-Atum (corresponding to Indian Mārtaṇḍa) but seven other cosmic gods of ancient Egypt. This reminds us of the fact that Aditi is *ashṭa-putrā*. The sex of Nu, as of Aditi-Ilā, is uncertain; for she may assume a male form or a female, at will;—when female, she may be known as Nut, the sky-goddess who is none but the consort of Sēb (Qeb, identified by us with Indian Śiva); and Osiris, Isis, etc. are only her children.

And if Daksha is not really identical with the constellation of *Ursae minoris*, with which Roth identifies Uttāna-pāda,[1] I think, he is probably the same as the constellation of Cepheus, which indeed looks like a human figure with legs bent at knee and upturned.[2] Cepheus is a group of stars nearest to the Pole star, and by it is another group of stars called Cassiopeia, which assumes a similar 'posture'. (According to the Greek mythology, Cepheus and Cassiopeia were king and queen of Ethiopia, and they gave birth to the beautiful Andromeda.) Therefore, and especially if we look into some star-map,[3] the idea of Pole Star being Cepheus–Uttānapāda's son is quite easily intelligible. Cepheus seems to be identical with the celestial bulls referred to in the Naishadhīya[4] as moving in an uttāna (upside down) fashion.

To return to Tree-worship (after these long digressions!). Dr. Hutton informs us that "it is characteristic of the fig tree to be associated with fertility and re-incarnation", and that "the distribution of this association may be roughly stated as from

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[1] JASB. (N. S., XXVIII), 1932, p. 23.

[2] Daksha's head is, however, indentified in Indian mythology with the constellation of Mṛigaśiras. Mahimnas-stotra, 22:—

प्रजानाथं नाथ प्रसभमभिकं स्वां दुहितरं गतं रोहिद्भूतां रिरमयिषुमृश्यस्य वपुषा ।
धनुष्याणेर्यातं दिवमपि सपत्राकृतममुं त्रसन्तं तेऽद्यापि त्यजति न मृगव्याधरभसः ॥

Mṛigavyādha, also an epithet of Śiva, represents Sirius or dog-star.

Read RV. X. 61. 5-7, of which the last Ṛik runs as:—

"पिता यत्स्वां दुहितरमाधिष्कन् क्ष्मया रेतः संजग्मानो नि षिञ्चत् । etc."

Cf. A. B., XIII. 9:—

प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायद्दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुषसमित्यन्ये तामृश्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत्...तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते...या रोहित्सा रोहिणी ।

'मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् ।' —Śākuntala. I. 6.

[3] See, for instance, Ellison Hawks' *Stars*, pl. xxxi. For Cassiopeia, read Milton, *Il Penseroso*.

[4] 'तेनाधिकं देवगवेष्वपि स्याच्छ्रद्धालुरुत्तानगतौ श्रुतायाम् ।'

—Naishadhīya XXII. 82. Read Nārāyaṇa's commentary on the same:—

"'उत्ताना वै देवगवाश्चरन्ति' इति श्रुतिः ।"

Africa to Indo-China and from south Italy to New Guinea;"[1]—and throughout this region we find the prevalence of the cult. "But", says Pratap Chandra Ghosh, "the most important instance of tree-worship is the Durgā-pūjā. Although the festival is rejoicing at the promising crops in the field...it is undoubtedly one of the most extensive festivals of tree-worship".[2] Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda has already drawn our attention to the great part played by plant-worship in Śaktism.[3]

"Tree-worship" was, according to Dr. Mackenzie, connected with the worship of the Mother Goddess, with the worship of "animals, stones and ancestors"; and this connection between the sacred tree and standing stones may, in the opinion of this great scholar, be traced in the fact that the megaliths were erected under trees.[4] A world-wide distribution of megaliths suggests to him a world-wide distribution of beliefs and superstitions connected with them.[5] And he rightly shows that the wasp or the bee was regarded by the primitive people as the very moving spirit of the Tree-deity. "The wasp was identified in ancient times with the bee, and the bee or wasp was a symbol of certain Mother Goddesses like Artemis, Demeter, Nanaia, etc."[6] Zeus, the son of a mother goddess, was fed by bees. This connection of the wasps and bees with the Mother Goddess can be proved even in India. The Earth appears in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa[7] as identical with Saraghā, and Saraghā is Madhumakshikā according to the Amarakośa. Bhrāmarī or Bhramarī often occurs as the very epithet of Durgā, as is correctly pointed out by Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri.[8] Stories are not wanting in the Rāmāyaṇa, Kathā-sarit-sāgara and other Sanskrit works, where bees are said to drop honey to restore the departed spirits of a person slain in the battle-field, or where the Mother Goddess leaves her habitation in the form of a bee. In the opinion of Dr. Mackenzie, the "honey-and-milk elixir connects the bee as well as the cow with tree-worship,"[9] the worship of the sycamore fig.......... "Well-worship" comes in also. And so does serpent worship. The worship was connected with the river."[1] And all this is entirely borne out by Indian tradition, which refers to Vaṭa and other mahā-vanaspatis as kshīra-tarus or milk-yielding trees.[2] That the Vedic Aryan was aware of 'River-worship', is a well-known fact, Sarasvatī (a name of Vāk-Irā) being his most favourite deity. And 'waters' are often invoked there along with Oshadhis. As Dr. Mackenzie says, 'tree-worship' should not be considered by itself, but only as a part of the manifold worship of the great Mother Goddess. I may add that the belief of the Hindus, etc., regarding tree being the home or resort of departed spirits, or ghosts, points to its connection with the worship of Terra Mater, who was originally conceived as the abode of the dead in most countries.[3]

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[1] M. I., IX.; M. R., 1929, Jan., Dr. Guha's article.

[2] JASB. 1870, pt. i. 227.

[3] *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 131f.

[4] Mackenzie, p. 157, 180, etc.

[5] Ibid. p. 182.

[6] ERE. VI. 725.

[7] TB. III. 10. 10. 1 :— इयं (पृथिवी) वै सरघा ।

[8] D. R. Bhandarkar Vol. p. 302.

[9] AV. I. 34. 1 :—
'इयं वीरुन्मधुजाता मधुना त्वा खनामसि । मधोरधि प्रजातासि सा नो मधुमतस्कृधि ॥'

These views of that veritably great savant, Dr. Mackenzie, may throw an unexpected flood of light on those Vedic and Upanishadic passages, which otherwise have to be regarded as puzzling and altogether unintelligible. Thus there are not a few passages in those texts, wherein honey-elixir seems to have been identified with the essence of everything in the world, with the Sun, and ultimately with Brahman (the Supreme Principle) itself. This *Madhuvidyā* comprises the most important precepts and teachings of the Upanishads,[4] etc.; but it is not so well known that it does so in earlier texts too. The Mother Aditi, is identical with the sky, is said to foster her sons, the suns (Ādityas) with the honey-elixir,[5] (madhumat-payaḥ pīyūshaṁ), for she is the core or the essence of that elixir (amṛitasya nābhiḥ).[6] Indeed, this life-elixir,[7] variously

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1. Mackenzie, 178 f.

2. Compare :— ' क्षीरतरुपल्लवलाञ्छनैः.......शातकुम्भकुम्भैः......गवामधः सस्नौ । ' —Kādambarī (Parab's ed. p. 128–129). On this, Bhānuchandra comments :— " Kshīra-taravo Vaṭādayaḥ... ", which shows that Vaṭa in India was deemed to contain milk elixir. Note that this passage, which we shall have more occasions to comment upon, occurs in connection with the means, Queen Vilāsavatī adopted for securing progeny.

3. RV. X. 18. 10 ; D. C. A., 178 ; 324 ; etc.; Garstang, p. 230 f.; Hopkins, 79 ; W. S. Fox, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, p. 292 ; etc. At times, it is the stones that are inhabited by the ghosts. Allen, p. 75 f.

4. Chhāndogya, Up., III. i. 1 f.

5. RV. X. 63. 3 :—

' येभ्यो माता मधुमत् पिन्वते पयः पीयूषं द्यौरदितिरद्रिबर्हाः ।
उक्थशुष्मान्वृषभरान्त्स्वप्नसस्ताँ आदित्याँ अनु मदा स्वस्तये ॥ '

6. RV. VIII. 101. 15 :—

' माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसादित्यानां अमृतस्य नाभिः । '
Cf. TA. VI. 12. 1.

7. RV. VI. 70. 4–6 :—

घृतेन द्यावापृथिवी अभीवृते घृतश्रिया घृतपृचा घृतावृधा ।
उर्वी पृथ्वी होतृवूर्ये पुरोहिते ते इद् विप्रा ईळते सुम्नमिष्टये ॥

termed as ghṛita (ghee), madhu (honey), ūrja or vāja (food), rasa (juice), etc., is undoubtedly a blessing of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother. The Sky Father is solicited to be honey itself towards the worshipper.[1] Soma is only the best of all that contain this madhu (madhumattamaḥ).[2] According to the Atharva-veda, if Brahma is the mouth of the Omnipotent, Omnipresent Being, Madhu-kaśā or Madhu-nadī (that life-line of honey elixir, i.e. Aditi) is His tongue.[3]

Oshadhis are often said to be madhumatī (full of honey), not only in the Saṁhitā texts,[4] but also in the Brāhmaṇas.[5] They are otherwise called "mādhvī".[6] Vanaspati is said to be madhumān.[7]

मधु नो द्यावापृथिवी मिमिक्षतां मधुश्च्युता मधुदुघे मधुव्रते ।
दधाने यज्ञं द्रविणं च देवता महि श्रवो वाजमस्मे सुवीर्यम् ॥
ऊर्जं नो द्यौश्च पृथिवी च पिन्वतां पिता माता विश्वविदा सुदंससा ।
संरराणे रोदसी विश्वशम्भुवा सनिं वाजं रयिमस्मे समिन्वताम् ॥

RV. V. 43. 2 :—

' आ सुष्टुती नमसा वर्तयध्यै द्यावा वाजाय पृथिवी अमृध्रे ।
पिता माता मधुवचाः सुहस्ता भरे भरे नो यशसावविष्टाम् ॥ '
' घृतेन द्यावापृथिवी व्युन्धि ' —RV. V. 83. 8.
' मही द्यौः पृथिवी च न इमं यज्ञं मिमिक्षताम् । पिपृतां नो भरीमभिः ॥
तयोरिद् घृतवत् पयो विप्रा रिहन्ति धीतिभिः । गन्धर्वस्य ध्रुवे पदे ॥ '
—RV. I. 22. 13-14.

Herein lies the reason for the conspicuous use of curds, ghee, honey, etc., in the Pūjās, noted by Jarl Charpentier (I A. 1927. 93 f.; 130 f.; etc.). For the use of honey, oil, ghee, in stone-worship, see Allen, p. 67 f., 77, 82, etc.

[1] RV. I. 90. 7 = YV. XIII. 28 = T. S. IV. ii. 9. 3 = T. A., X. 10. 2 = Ś. B., XIV. ix. 3. 12. ' मधु नक्तमुतोषसो मधुमत्पार्थिवं रजः । मधु द्यौरस्तु नः पिता ॥ '

[2] RV. IX. 100. 6; IX. 64. 22; I. 47. 3 etc.; cf. RV. IX. 72. 2; IX. 74. 3-4; IX. 75. 4 : etc. AV. XX. 137. 4; cf. AV. XX. 143. 4. Such passages are too numerous to be referred to, in full.

[3] AV. IX. i. 1 f. :—

" दिवस्पृथिव्या अन्तरिक्षात्समुद्रादग्नेर्वातान्मधुकशा हि जज्ञे ।
तां चायित्वामृतं वसाना हृद्भिः प्रजाः प्रति नन्दन्ति सर्वाः ॥ १ ॥
...मातादित्यानां दुहिता वसूनां प्राणः प्रजानाममृतस्य नाभिः ।
हिरण्यवर्णा मधुकशा घृताची महान्भर्गश्चरति मर्त्येषु ॥ ४ ॥
मधोः कशामजनयन्त देवास्तस्या गर्भो अभवद्विश्वरूपः ।
तं जातं तरुणं पिपर्ति माता स जातो विश्वा भुवना वि चष्टे ॥ ५ ॥ "

Note the epithet Ghṛitāchī, on which we comment in our Appendix on Apsarases. Compare RV. VIII. 101. 15 (quoted above).

AV. X. 7. 19 :— यस्य ब्रह्म मुखमाहुर्जिह्वां मधुकशामुत ।

[4] RV. IV. 57. 3 = AV. XX. 143. 8.

[5] T. B., III. ii. 8. 2; cp. Ś. B. XI. v. 4. 18; A. B. VIII. 20; etc.

[6] RV. I. 90. 6 = YV. XIII. 27 = T. S., IV. ii. 9. 3 = T. A., X. 10. 2 = ŚB. XIV. ix. 3. 11.

[7] RV. I. 90. 8 = YV. XIII. 29 = TS. IV. ii. 9. 3, etc.

In all Vedic texts, a great part is played in the sacrifices,—which are only charms and magical formulæ,—by madhu, as by ghṛita or sarpis, soma and puroḍāśa (= cake). We are reminded of the fact that "bread, sesame wine, butter and honey" played an important part in the private sacrifices of the Sumerians, which "were really charms to serve an answer to prayer".[1] I think, for obvious reasons, of the possibility of equating the Soma plant with sesame (Tila, of later Sanskrit literature), to which frequent references occur in the Purāṇas, etc., in connection with fertility rites or rites relating to agriculture. Yavāśira which intoxicates Indra is, I suppose, "barley wine" of the Egyptians, with whom it was popular "in very early times".

Incidentally, it may be remembered Lord Kṛishṇa identifies himself in the Bhagavadgītā, with the Earth, and the Soma which seems to be regarded as the essence of all plants.[2] Further, the great part played by madhu-parka in Hindu sacraments, especially in those connected with marriage, is well known,[3] and this custom has given rise to a beautiful idea in a Sanskrit Kāvya that the madhuparka tasted by Nala at the *puṇyāha* (lucky-day) ceremony was recognized by the fore-seers as the very honey he was to drink from Damayantī's lips ![4] It is not without reasons then that a Brahmachārin (a celebate student of Brāhmaṇic religion) is strictly prohibited the use of honey.[5] The reasons for this prohibition are not very

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1. Wooley, *The Sumerians*, p. 126.
2. Bhagavad-gītā, XV. 13 :—

गामाविश्य च भूतानि धारयाम्यहमोजसा ।
पुष्णामि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ॥

Here Soma may most probably stand for the moon, who was, however, identified with 'sesame wine' (?) from Ṛigvedic days.

3. Pāraskara-G. S , I. iii. 1–27 :—

'षडर्घ्या भवन्त्याचार्यऋत्विग्वैवाह्यो राजा प्रियः स्नातक इति। etc.'

4. Naishadhīya, XVI. 13 :—

'असिस्वदन्यन्मधुपर्कमर्पितं स तद्व्यधात्तर्कमुदर्कदर्शिने ।
यदेष पास्यन्मधु भीमजाधरं मिषेण पुण्याहविधिं तदाकृत ॥'

cf. Nārāyaṇa's com. on Naishadhīya, XVI. 12 :—

मधुपर्कपूर्वं कन्यादानमित्याचारः।

5. Ś. B., XI. v. 4. 18 :—

'न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वश्नीयादोषधीनां वाऽएष परमो रसो यन्मधु।'

Pāraskara G. S., II. v. 12 :—

'मधुमांसमज्जनोपर्यासनस्त्रीगमनानृतादत्तदानानि वर्जयेत् ।'

Manu :—'वर्जयेन्मधु मासं च गन्धं माल्यं रसान् स्त्रियः।'

Yājnavalkya :—'मधुमांसाञ्जनोच्छिष्टशुक्तस्त्रीप्राणिहिंसनम् ।
भास्करालोकनाश्लीलपरिवादादि वर्जयेत् ॥'

difficult to guess, for this honey is anything but desirable for a bachelor. The Mother Goddess to whom honey was sacred was essentially a divinity of fertility, which, though a boon to a married man, is no doubt a curse to a bachelor !

Soma or madhu is thus an essential attribute of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother. The '*railing*' of this 'Tree of Life' has been attributed by Cunningham and others to Buddhism, though it is certain that it has hardly anything to do with Buddhism. Even according to these scholars, there are figures of Brāhmaṇic deities like Agni, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Indra, Pṛithivī, etc.,[1] standing on this 'railing' ! To me it is a matter of surprise, why,—if that symbol is Buddhist,—it should be connected with Śaivite emblems like trident. With all these divinities and emblems, it can be easily connected if the all-embracing cult of the Nude Goddess is taken into account. For with the Goddess it can easily be connected. But the question is : what does the ' railing ' stand for ? I hazard here two alternative theories in explanation of this symbol, which appears to me rather difficult of interpretation.

It can be regarded as the conventional representation of the *sacred altar* as identical with the Mother Earth, who is the base (Pratishṭhā) of all.[2] Imagination allows this identification of Vedi with the Earth, and texts warrant it.[3] Pṛithivī is Deva-yajanī even according to Saṁhitā texts.[4] According to Biblical tradition,[5] an altar of earth or of hewn stone has to be erected in every place where Yahweh records his name. The altars of many countries had, at times, sacred horns of consecration adorning each corner. and we shall learn later how these holy horns were distinctive attributes of the Mother Goddess as identical with the sacred cow, Fire kindled miraculously was maintained perpetually on the Hebrew altar, as also on the Persian. On Indian altars it was kindled again and again. Blood sacrifices were offered on them among the Hebrews. Incense was burnt every morning and every evening, when bloody sacrifices were not conducted on them. In Greece, several altars were built out of the ashes of burnt offerings, (as that of Zeus at Olympia) and they had various shapes. A few, like the one at Delos (called in modern Greece *Mikra-Dilos*), the mythical birth-place of Apollo and Artemis, were made of ram's or goat's horns. Altar is associated with serpents on Syrian coins, and the Canaanitish (terracotta) shrines of Hesi-Nekht Ashtarte of Beth-Shan are but movable prayer altars of the Goddess. The Aegean Mother Goddess usually sits under the tree of life, which is often associated with altars on enclosing walls.[1] Vaṭa-Sāvitrī (i.e., Sāvitrī in the form of a Vaṭa) is worshipped at least in Mahārāshṭra and C. P., on Jyeshṭha Paurṇimā, only if the Vaṭa has an altar or a basement under it; if there is none, a temporary basement is erected. Together with the basement it becomes a chaitya-vṛiksha.[2]

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[1] Vide in this connection Theobald, p. 212 ; Evans, II. 664, fn. 1, calls it a ' window ' sign. It occurs in the Magazine area of the Palace.

[2] Ś. B., I. ix. 1. 29 ; I. ix. 3. 11 ; II. ii. 1. 19 ; IV. v. 2. 15; A.B., VIII. 1; etc.

[3] ' पृथिवी वेदि: ।'—A. B., V. 28 ; T. B., III. iii. 6. 28 ; etc.
' इयं (पृथिवी) वै वेदिः ।' Ś. B., VII. iii. 1. 15 ; VII. V. 2. 31 ; etc.

[4] YV. III. 5 :—
' ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वर्द्यौरिव भूम्ना पृथिवीव वरिम्णा ।
तस्यास्ते पृथिवि देवयजनि पृष्ठेऽग्निमन्नादमन्नाद्यायादधे ॥'

[5] Exod. xx. 24-26.

But I wonder if the name 'altar' can be applied to the basement of trees found in certain Western Kshatrapa coins, etc., where the tree often rises at one end of it. Many of these altars contain some snake-like figures, which may be more appropriately associated with tanks, rather than with the sacred altars. The association of tanks with snakes, and hence with the Goddess worship is already alluded to in this essay. The elongated basement in Western Kshatrapa coins betrays a certain resemblance with the "tank of Life giving water", out of which the "tree, a form of the Mother-Goddess grows".[3] The tree with a railing or 'a box at its base' (as Theobald describes it), is to be seen on a large stone found at Easic in Strathmore (Scotland)[4] and is associated with the 'spectacle' which Theobald gives reasons for connecting with Nature-worship.

Lastly, Beal points out that the Chinese believe that the so-called four 'windows' or compartments, so to speak, of the window-sign (formed by an equilateral cross inscribed within a square) signify "an enclosed space of earth."[5] The sacred tree may appear on the top of a sacred mountain, which we have reason to identify perhaps with Sumeru or Meru. Bāṇa refers to a Kanaka tree adorning the top of *Meru*.[6] The tree on Mount Meru seems to be generally regarded as a Kalpa-vṛiksha.[7] If the hill is sometimes surmounted by a crescent in stead of a tree, we also get passages in literature which refer to the moon on the top of Mt. Meru.[8]

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[1] Glotz, p. 229 f.; 236 f.; 259 f.; etc.

[2] Sabhā-parva (Chitraśāḷā ed.), XXI. 19; Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary :— चैत्यकं चित्या दृषदां चयनेन निर्वृतम् । · Vide J. N. Banerji, I. H. Q., XVI. p. 3.

[3] Mackenzie, p. 162 ; fig. 44.

[4] Theobald, p. 191 ; also see Evans, I. 313 ; fig. 232.

[5] IA. 1880. 68 ; ERE. III. 326.

[6] Kādambarī (Parab) p. 193 :— 'मेरुवनलतयेव कनकपत्रालङ्कृतया ।'

[7] Naishadhīya, XI. 10 ; cp. Com. of Nārāyaṇa.

[8] Kādambarī (Parab), p. 211 :—
'काञ्चनमयं शशीव मेरुशृङ्गं चन्द्रापीडः सिंहासनमारुरोह ।'

CHAPTER X

The Sun

To those people of ancient times, who, for the most part of their life, dwelt outside the four walls of their houses, to those who attributed divine agency to every natural phenomenon and looked on everything around them as being animated by some superior principle or principles, or to those who were superstitiously or otherwise inclined to believe in the influence of the astral phenomena on human life, the Sun that beams forth light and life over all the things on the surface of the earth, must have presented various imageries.

Daily like a tawny horse, he rises with a ruddy glow and traverses the expanse of the sky (as if in three strides).[1] It is from the Earth that this ruddy Sun (Rohita) seems to take his birth at dawn, and into her (that great Yoni) again he appears to 'plunge' every evening, only to be born next morn.[2] And when he rises in the sky he appears to lord over the Earth, shedding his full light on her. It seems as though he is the moving spirit of the Sky Father; hence, he is entitled to wed the Earth his mother!

But the Sky Father is the real husband of the Earth Mother, and the solar orb appears to spring from the union of the two in the mid-air.[3] After all, the functions of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother are just the same, they are really united and identical : Aditi is both the sky and the earth, father and mother. The Sun seems to be the master of the Sky as well. Hence it is that Pūshan may be legitimately represented in the Ṛig-veda as "the husband of the heaven and the earth which remain together,"[1] perhaps united in an eternal embrace.

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[1] RV. I. 22. 16-18; I. 154. 1-4; VII. 77. 3; etc. These strides are connected with *Vāmanāvatāra*, in the Purāṇas, which only develop the ideas contained in Ś. B., I. ii. 5; T. S., VI. ii. 4; etc. where Vishṇu is already said to have become *vāmana* while making three strides.

[2] AV. XIII. 2. 25 :—

'रोहितो दिवमारुहत्तपसा तपस्वी ।
स योनिमैति स उ जायते पुनः स देवानामधिपतिर्बभूव ॥'

Cf. RV. I. 50. 7; AV. XX. 47. 19. This Rohita is undoubtedly the ruddy sun of the morning or his light. Rohita is in later literature identified with Aruṇa and becomes Sūrya's charioteer; vide Śāśvata-kośa, st. 174 :— 'रोहितोऽरुणः ।'

[3] RV. X. 17, 6; I. 160. 1 f. :—

'ते हि द्यावापृथिवी विश्वशम्भुव ऋतावरी रजसो धारयत्कवी ।
सुजन्मनी धिषणे अन्तरीयते देवो देवी धर्मणा सूर्यः शुचिः ॥
...स वह्निः पुत्रः पित्रोः पवित्रवान् पुनाति धीरो भुवनानि मायया ।

Compare RV. I. 143. 2. These hymns prove the identity of Sūrya and Agni. Cf. 'विष्णुरादित्यः । कथमिति अग्निर्विद्युत्सूर्यः...।' —Durga on Nirukta, XII. 1.

Or, for one who may so fancy, the Sun is a master eagle or a swan, that fills or supports with his (wing-like ?) rays the whole of the sky above and the earth below.[2] This is a bold and perhaps a very happy conception, and could easily become popular. The Sun whether you invoke him as Sūrya, Savitṛi, Pūshan or by any other appellation, is just the same bird : call it Pataṅga,[3] Suparṇa,[4] Suparṇa-Garutmān,[5] Śyena,[6] Tārkshya,[7] or anything you please. 'What is in a name ?' asks the Poet. And this is quite true in the case of the Father God and the Mother Goddess.

Later on, this Suparṇa instead of being identified with Vishṇu becomes his vehicle. Yet even in the Epic mythology, his original character is retained. He is both Vainateya and an Āditya ;[8] Vinatā is none but Aditi-Vāk, according to many Brāhmaṇa passages.[9] In an important hymn in the Ādi-parva, he is called the sun,

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[1] ' प्रपथे पथामजनिष्ट पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः ।
उभे अभि प्रियतमे सधस्थे आ च परा च चरति प्रजानन् ॥ '
—RV. X. 17. 6 ; JASB. 1932 (NS. XXVIII), p. 90.

[2] ' चित्रश्चिकित्वान्महिषः सुपर्ण आरोचयन्रोदसी अन्तरिक्षम् ।'
—AV. XIII. 2. 32 ; cf. XIII. 2. 35-38 ; RV. I. 115. 1 ; V. 47. 3 ; VII. 99. 3.
Compare also Mandasore Ins. of Kumāra-gupta and Bandhuvarman :—
' कृत्स्नं यश्च गभस्तिभिः प्रविसृतैः पुष्णाति लोकत्रयम् । '

[3] AV. XIII. 3. 1.

[4] RV. X. 114. 4-5 :—
' एकः सुपर्णः स समुद्रमा विवेश य इदं विश्वं भुवनं विचष्टे ।
तं पाकेन मनसापश्यमन्तितस्तं माता रेळ्हि स उ रेळ्हि मातरम् ।
सुपर्णं विप्राः कवयो वचोभिरेकं सन्तं बहुधा कल्पयन्ति ॥ '
AV. XIII. 2. 36 f. :—
' उच्चा पतन्तमरुणं सुपर्णं...पश्याम त्वा सवितारं...दिवस्पृष्ठे धावमानं सुपर्णमदित्याः
पुत्रं नाथकाम उप यामि भीतः ।' Cf. RV. V. 47. 3 ; AV. XIII. 2. 9.

[5] RV. I. 164. 46 = AV. IX. 10. 28 :—
' इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥ '
RV. X. 143. 3 :—
' सुपर्णो अङ्ग सवितुर्गरुत्मान्पूर्वो जातः । ' Also TA. X. i. 6.; cf. RV. X. 55. 6.

[6] RV. V. 45. 9 :—' आ सूर्यो यातु सप्ताश्वः क्षेत्रं यदस्योर्विया दीर्घयाथे ।
रघुः श्येनः पतयदन्धो अच्छा युवा कविर्दीदयद् गोषु गच्छन् ॥ '

[7] RV. I. 89. 6 ; X. 178. 1 f.

[8] Hopkins, p. 21.

[9] Ś. B., III. vi. 2. 2 ; Nirukta, II. 23. 1.

tapanaḥ sūryaḥ,[1] and is identified with the Creator, Death, Agni, Vishṇu, Bṛahman, etc. The great Epic also retains his identity with Tārkshya, who too appears as the vehicle of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa.[2] In the Rāmāyaṇa, this Suparṇa is said to have 'golden wings',[3] and the same idea is found in the description of the mighty Suparṇa that used to carry Kauśalyā, Kaikeyī, and Sumitrā in their dreams, with such a speed that the clouds drifted along it.[4] This Suparṇa—Tārkshya-Vainateya is no doubt the king of all birds and a son of a female bird (suparṇī, who is the same as Vinatā), and of Kaśyapa (the Sky-Father).[5] Again, the idea of sun as a bird is also found in later literature, where Haṁsa, Pataṅga, etc. appear as mere synonyms of Sūrya.[6]

Now, as identical with the Sky Father, the Sun-bird, whether we name him Sūrya,[7] Pūshan,[8] or Savitṛi,[9] can easily be called Asura. For the Sky Father, whether as Dyaus[10] or as Varuṇa,[11] is no doubt Asura and as such identical with Ahura Mazda. It is recognized by certain high Avestan and Assyrian authorities that the proto-type of this Ahura is to be found in Ashshur or Assur, whose symbol, the winged sun-disk, was borrowed by the Assyrians from the Egyptians possibly through the Hittites of Syria.[12] It is perhaps only Vedic scholars like Dr. Keith who have consistently refused to accept the equation Assur = Ahura; and they fail to realise the implications of this equation.

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1. Hopkins, p. 21.
2. Ibid. p. 21–22.
3. Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla-kāṇḍa, 14. 29 :—
   'गरुडो रुक्मपक्षो वै त्रिगुणोऽष्टादशात्मकः।'
4. Raghu. X. 61 :—
   'हेमपक्षप्रभाजालं गगने च वितन्वता। उह्यन्ते स्म सुपर्णेन वेगाकृष्टपयोमुचा॥'
5. Halāyudha's *Abhidhāna-Ratna-mālā*, I. 30 :—
   'विहङ्गराजो गरुडो गरुत्मांस्तार्क्ष्यः सुपर्णातनयः सुपर्णः।
   स्याद्वैनतेयः पवनाशनाशः सुरेन्द्रजित् कश्यपनन्दनश्च॥'
   For Kaśyapa as Sky Father, vide infra.
6. Amara-kośa, st. 114; Raghu. II. 15.
7. RV. I. 35. 7 :—
   'वि सुपर्णो अन्तरिक्षाण्यख्यद्गभीरवेपा असुरः सुनीथः।
   क्वेदानीं सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतमां द्यां रश्मिरस्या ततान॥'
   Cf. RV. I. 35. 10.
8. RV. V. 51. 11 :—'स्वस्ति पूषा असुरो दधातु नः...।'
9. RV. IV. 53. 1 :—'तद्देवस्य सवितुर्वार्यं महद् वृणीमहे असुरस्य प्रचेतसः।'
10. RV. I. 131. 1; V. 41. 3.
11. RV. II. 27. 10; II. 28. 7; etc.
12. Breasted, p. 149–151.

Assur was the chief of all divinities, their "peerless king", and "as a proof of his supreme sovereignty over them, his name was inscribed at the head of their lists, before those of the triads constituted by the Chaldæan priests—even before those of Anu, Bel, and Ea."[1] Assur assumes 'many aspects' of the Sun-god and replaces Marduk in the Epic of Creation,[2]—nay, the title Ashir seems to have been given to various sun-gods, Marduk, Nebo, etc.,[3] just as a similar epithet was applied in India, to Sūrya, Pūshan, etc.

Now, in the Avesta, Ahura Mazda, Auhar Mazda, or Ormuzd, the god of gods (Baga-Bagānām or Mathishṭa-Bagānām), whose will is Law, who is the most benevolent spirit and the Maker of the material world, is "bright and glorious". Ahura is one "Who covereth himself with light as with a garment", is Mazda (the wise), and is a winged garon-mān[4] (=suparṇa garutmān). A Persepolitan bas-relief represents Ahura Mazda as a winged Sun-god. In Yasht XIII. 3, the sky is Mazdāh's "starry robe". It is just possible that Assur whose name appears in one of the earliest Sumerian inscriptions, viz. of the 14th year of Dungi of Ur (c. 2376 B. C.?), as A-USAR, can be without much difficulty identified with Ahura or Auhar. In the inscriptions of his vassal named Zariku, (who was the governor of the town of Assur), the name is mentioned as A-Shir.[5] Thus A-USAR and Ashir seem to be quite early forms of the name of that Accadian god. This early name A-USAR = A-Shir is, I believe, rightly connected by many scholars with Osiris, from which it can be easily derived even philologically. The point is that the name, A-USAR, is spelt as Assur (Ashshur or Ashur) only in later times. This means that the Avestan and Indian names (Ahura-Asura) are an outcome of a late age, i. e., the name was borrowed *by* the Indo-Iranians rather than *from* them. And this is corroborated by the fact that in India, the name belongs not to one supreme God, but to most of the divinities into which Assur or Ashshur multiplied in India. I wonder, how some Indian scholars can ignore this simple issue and derive the supreme Ashshur from the epithet of many gods of the Ṛig-veda.[6]

Here then we come to Osiris. Diodorus Siculus records :—"It is said that the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt looking up to the sky and smitten with awe and wonder at the nature of the universe, supposed that there were two gods, eternal and primæval, the sun and the moon, of whom they named the sun Osiris and the moon Isis."[1] Osiris is also an awful judge of the dead.[2] To me he seems to combine the functions of both Yama-Mahākāla (the god of death and justice) and Vishṇu (the Sun-god). Osiris is the chief god of fructification of the soil.[3] In India, this is primarily the function of Śiva or Śambhu, though, as shown elsewhere, forms of the Indian Sun-god have also been connected with the fertilisation of the soil; witness, for example, the invocation to Pūshan, for bestowing rains,[4] making a careful note of the fact that a writer identifies him with the Kshetra-pati ('Master of the field') of a famous Ṛig-vedic hymn.[5] Now, Osiris also assumes different forms of birds like a falcon, a heron, or a lapwing, corresponding to Indian Haṁsa, Pataṅga, Śyena, etc. As identical with Ra or Rē (cf. Arabic Rab, Skt. Ravi),[6] he "was that luminous egg, laid and hatched in the East by the celestial goose,"[7] who is no doubt identical with the Mother Goddess. Corresponding to this Ra we have in the Ṛig-veda Mārtaṇḍa (the dead egg of the Sun-god?) represented as taking birth from Aditi,[8] also called Vinatā or Suparṇī. The identification of the Egyptian Osiris–Ra with Indian Asura-Pūshan–Ravi, may perhaps be strengthened by the fact that the Egyptian Osirian lapwing is called Bonu, while Pūshan is the same as Bhānu! Again Ra is called Kamut-Fe, 'the husband of his mother.' Pūshan is known to be Mātur-dīdhishu, 'the ravisher of his mother'.[9] Osiris marries his sister Isis; In India, Pūshan becomes *svasur-jāra*, 'the violator of his sister', Ushas.

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[1] Maspero, p. 603–64.
[2] E. B., II. 568 col.I. ii.
[3] E. B. (11th ed.) II. 788. ii.
[4] Fargard, xix. 2.
[5] E. B., II. 568, col. 1.
[6] A. C. Das. Also cf. *Pre-historic India I*. p. 211.

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[1] Diodorus, I. xi. 1. To Osiris is attributed the earliest kingship in Egypt, just as it is attributed to Yama in India. Osiris was not unoften identified with pillars, etc.; in India this aspect is chiefly usurped by Śiva, though Śāḷigrāma stones are often supposed to represent Vishṇu rather than Śiva. But we must beware of this distinction between Vishṇu and Śiva, for the Purāṇas, etc. send him to hell and perdition, who makes such a distinction! Besides, the Brāhmaṇa texts grant the identity of the sun-bird with *semen virile*: 'वीर्यं वै सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।'. ŚB. VI. vii. 2. 6. Śiva-liṅga also represents the same.

[2] In light of this fact, असुर्या लोकाः in the stanza असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसा वृताः । तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः । (Īśāvāsya Up.) may well refer to the underworld, of which Osiris was the master.

[3] D. C. A., p. 438, col., ii.

[4] RV. X. 26. 3; X. 98. 1; cf. VI. 57. 4; III. 57. 2; etc.

[5] RV. IV. 57. JASB. 1932 (NS. XXVIII), p. 90.

[6] The philological equation Ra = Rab = Ravi is recently suggested by a writer in a Marathi weekly called Vividhavṛitta (1941, May).

[7] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 88.

[8] RV. X. 72. 7-9; Halāyudha, l. c. I. 30.

[9] RV. VI. 55. 5.

Eye was a symbol of Osiris who was at times identified with Ra, as is clear from the description of Isis as the ' royal consort of Ra.'[1] It was the right eye of the divine face of Horus or Har (cf. Hara-Śiva) as sky.[2] There are numerous passages in the Vedas wherein the sun is equated with an eye ;[3] but no very logical explanation is available of this fact in India. I suppose, it is furnished by the following fact observable in Egypt :—" Owing to the punning assonance between his name and the word *horus*, which designates the human countenance, the two senses were combined, and to the idea of the sparrow-hawk there was added that of a divine face, whose eyes opened in turn, the right eye being the sun, to give light by day, and the left eye the moon, to illumine the night. "[4] The borrowal, therefore, seems to be *from* the Egyptians rather than *by* them.

Our readers must have noticed here that in our opinion the right eye of Horus corresponds to the right eye of Hara (which is identical with the sun according to Purāṇic conception) ;—Hara's connection with the eye is not so easy to explain on etymological or other grounds in India. Incidentlly, we may remember that in Austro-Asiatic mythology, the sun is a divine bird (a raven) or an eye (of the sky) ;[5] but there also no satisfactory explanation is offered. Again, we should ask what explanation is there available in India for the word ' ptāḥ '[6] in the sense of 'the rays (of the Sun.)' Ptah is a solar deity in Egypt, chief of the great triad at Memphis ! Again, I am inclined to connect Attā, (identified with the Sun-god by some Brāhmaṇa texts, and with the Supreme Brahman by the Brahma-sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and Śārīra-bhāshya of Śaṅkara), with Aton, a sun-god which was raised by Amonhotep-Ikhnaton (c. 1375–1358 B. C.) to the supreme position :—

> "Aton, Creator of the world...
> Thou fillest every land with thy beauty,...
> Though thou art far away, thy rays are upon the earth,...
> The trees and plants flourish," (through thy favour), etc.

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[1] *Adonis, Attis, &c.*, 352.

[2] *Dawn af Civilisation*, p. 88.

[3] RV. I. 115. 1 = AV. XIII. 2. 35 = AV. XX. 107. 14 = Ait. Ar. III. 9 = YV. VII. 42 = XIII. 46 = T. S., I. iv. 43. 1 = T. S., II. iv. 14. 4 = T. B., II. viii. 7. 3 = T. A., I. vii. 6 = T. A., III. xiii. 1.

[4] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 86 f.

[5] IC. I. 379.

[6] 'स प्ताः सप्ताश्वनुन्नारुणकिरणनिभः पातु बिभ्रत्त्रिनेत्रः ।'

Egyptian Ptah performs functions similar to those of Viśvakarman or rather Vidhātṛi or Brahmā. The Equation of the Vedic deity Ka or Prajāpati with the Egyption sun-god Ka, suggested by previous writers, can be accepted by all except those Sanskritists who without carefully going through all the passages relating to Ka at once refuse to recognize him as a god.

Thus, there are, perhaps, not a few forms of the Sun-god, which seem to have been, directly or indirectly, borrowed by the Indians from the ancient Egyptians.

Now, in Egypt uræus or asp was at times identified with the flaming eye of the solar god ; hence, eye and asp became synonymous, according to Egyptologists. They also tell us that uræus was synonymous with the Mother Goddess. This means that 'eye' was synonymous with the Mother Goddess. And this is exactly what we find in India, where according to the Brāhmaṇa texts (already quoted), the word ambaka (= 'an eye') in the compound 'Tryambaka' is identical with Ambikā ; and the compound is explained in a way so as to make poor Rudra a husband of three Ambikās. Here too the correct explanation is to be sought for in Egypt, and not in India. Pūshan-Vishṇu is probably identical with Yama-Mahākāla-Śiva ; i.e., is *Sky-cum-Sun* god, and is Pṛithivī-pati (= Dyaus) as well as Āditya or Āditeya, (=a son of Aditi). Indeed, it is asked : who else can carry him in her womb ?[1] Even Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu is referred to as being born of Aditi,[2] and so is another of his incarnations, as we shall show later. At Amin, some 40 m. SSE of Thanesar, Aditi is said to have brooded and given birth to Sūrya at a spot now marked by Sūrya-kuṇḍa, which is consequently visited by "all women who wish for male children."[3] And as everything emanating from the Great Goddess is identical with her, so must be the Sun. Again Śiva may be identified with Rohita (red or morning sun), Arka (= the sun-god), Pṛithivī, as well as the firmament.[4] The identity of Śiva and Vishṇu, as of Śiva and Pārvatī, is vouchsafed by most of the Purāṇic and Tāntric texts. Mythology relating to natural phenomena is thus necessarily complex ; and this is so everywhere.

For instance, let us read what the great Egyptologist Professor Maspero says on the identity of Horus (the son of Osiris and Isis) with Osiris :—"Father, inasmuch as he was the first member of the triad ; son, by virtue of being its third member ; identical with herself (= Isis) in both capacities, he was at once his own father, his own son, and the husband of his mother."[5] Elsewhere, he points out that "sun-gods were numerous among the nome deities, but they were sun-gods closely connected with the gods representing the sky, and resembling Horus (the sky) quite as much as Ra (the sun). Whether under the name of Horus or of Anhuri, the sky was early identified with its most brilliant luminary, its solar eye, and its divinity was as it were fused into that of the Sun. Horus, the Sun, and Ra, the Sun-God of Heliopolis, had so permeated each other that none could say where the one began and the other ended. One by one all the functions of Ra had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Ra."[1] "Where the sky was looked upon as the incarnation of a goddess, Ra (a sun-god) was considered as her son."[2] "Yet it was under the innocent aspect of a spotted calf, a "suckling calf of pure mouth", that the Egyptians were pleased to describe the Sun-god, when Sibu (also spelt as Seb, Qeb, etc.; cf. Skt. Śiva) the father was a bull and Hathor a heifer."[3] Elsewhere, too, we learn that Anher, Anhurr or Anhuri was a sun-god worshipped at Sebennytus as a son of Hathor.

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[1] Harivaṁśa I. 55. 48 :— ' का च धारयितुं शक्ता त्वां विष्णो अदितिं विना । '

[2] Rām., Bāla., 29. 16–19 ; Vishṇu P., III. i. 42 ; Bhāgavata P., VIII. 13. 6 ; VIII. 18. 11 f.; Kūrma P., Pūrvahhāga, 16. 27 f. Cf. Bhāgavata VIII. 17. 21 f.; Mbh. III. 12. 26 ; III. 273 ; Harivaṁśa III. 69–70.

[3] S. N. Majumdar's ed. of Cun.'s AGI. p. 316.

[4] Matsya P., 47. 131, 133, 164.

[5] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 108. Compare with this remark, the Tāntric and Purāṇic quotations at the very beginning of this thesis.

Now, in the Vedas, Mother Aditi, as identical with the sky, is said to be yielding honey-and-milk elixir for bulls, the Ādityas ;[4] at another place, Aryamā is said to milk the cow of gods,[5] who, as we shall show later, is undoubtedly identical with Surabhi-Aditi. Aryamā is a son of Aditi[6] and is in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā identified with the sun.[7] He is a form of Vishṇu, for the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa identifies him with Yajña,[8] which is Vishṇu himself, according to an oft-recurring Brāhmaṇa passage.[9]

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[1] Ibid. p. 100. [2] Ibid. p. 88.

[3] Ibid. 89. Vide Moret, l. c., p. 153.

[4] On Anher-Anhur read NCM. p. 11. RV. X. 63. 3 :—
'येभ्यो माता मधुमत्पिन्वते पयः पीयूषं द्यौरदितिरद्रिबर्हाः ।
उक्थशुष्मान्वृषभरान्त्स्वप्नसस्ताँ आदित्याँ अनुमदा स्वस्तये ।। '

[5] RV. I. 139. 7.
'यद्ध त्यामङ्गिरोभ्यो धेनुं देवा अदत्तन ।
वि तां दुह्रे अर्यमा कर्तरी सचाँ एष तां वेद मे सचा ।। '

In connection with Aryaman, there is a very remarkable suggestion. After pointing out that Aryaman is the presiding deity of the Uttarā-phalgunī Nakshatra, which forms one-third of the sign Leo, and two-thirds of the next sign Virgo, a writer observes :— " The sign Leo was named A-ru in the Euphratian list and Aryiah in Hebrew (Brown's *Primitive Constellations*, Vol. I. p. 62)." It is quite likely, I think, that the author is right in connecting A-ru and Ariyah with Aryaman. Vide JASB. (NS. XXVIII) 1932, p. 67.

[6] RV. I. 41 4–5 ; V. 67. 1 ; VII. 60. 5 ; VIII. 47.9.

[7] T. S., II. iii. 4. [8] T. B., II. iii. 5. 4.

[9] T. S., I. vii. 4. 1 f.; cf. Mait. S., I. 4. 14 ; YV. II. 25 ; XII. 5 ; ŚB., I. ix. 3. 9 ; etc. T. S., VII. ii. 4. 2 :—
'यज्ञो देवेभ्यो निलायत विष्णुरूपं कृत्वा स पृथिवीं प्राविशत् '

The above given suggestions, it is hoped, suffice to prove that the seemingly different sun-gods of the Vedas are in reality not only identical with one another, but are, in many cases, to be ultimately derived from Egyptian gods, who are but emanations of the great Osiris (who is a sky-god and a sun-god rolled into one). One aspect of that god developed in India and assumed the names of Indra, Parjanya, Varuṇa, etc. His other aspect multiplied into so many sun-divinities of the Ṛigveda. But in all his forms and everywhere, he was connected with the Great Goddess, and in diverse ways.

The uræus was in Egypt often used as a symbol of the Sun. The uræus, which "decked the forehead or the crown of the solar god and of kings, his representatives (or rather his 'sons'), was carried by priests and priestesses of Ra or itself occurred crowned on standards."[1] A Brāhmaṇa passage says that gods are serpents; naturally, their mother, Aditi, was identical with Kadrū the queen of serpents (Sarparājñī).[2] The gods are really Aditinandanas or Āditeyas (i.e. the sons of Aditi), which is etymologically the same as Ādityas, the suns. We have seen how among the Greeks, etc., the mother goddess was the mother of certain serpent gods. C. F. Oldham shows that in the worship of Nāga-images, the "representation of the Sun occupies a prominent position, being carved upon the roof and other parts" of the temple containing those images.[3] In the Śānti-parva, a Nāga is said to have gone to the Sun to wait upon him and carried his chariot for the period of a month.[4] A well-known Sanskrit *subhāshita* speaks of serpents serving as bridles of the seven horses of Sun's chariot.[5] The serpent occupies a prominent place in Mithraic mysteries.[6] The ancient Mexicans sacrificed human beings to the Sun, encircling the victim's neck by a wooden collar in the form of a snake.[7] Lastly, the Grecian Agathodæmon was often represented with solar rays.[8] Verily, gods are serpents.

The connection of the Sun and the Goddess can thus be illustrated in diverse ways.[9] To either of them serpents, no less than fish, were sacred. Both are represented in the form of a serpent, and both are identical with the 'eye'. Other symbols are also connected with the one, if they are with the other. Like the Goddess, the sun is also identified with Aśvattha, and either is connected with the heavenly honey (deva-madhu), in our sacred texts.

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[1] ERE. XI. 399 f ; Antiquity, Sept. 1940, p. 304 f.

[2] TB. II. ii. 6. 2 ; etc.

[3] JRAS. 1901. 463.

[4] Mbh. (Roy), 357. 8 :— 'आर्य: सूर्यरथं वोढुं गतोऽसौ मासचारिकः।'

[5] 'रथस्यैकं चक्रं भुजगयमिताः सप्त तुरगाः।'

[6] IA. 1886. 64.

[7] Ibid. p. 64 f.

[8] Supra, 41.

[9] From the ancient Egyptians to the modern Khoṇḍs, numerous people combine faith in the Sun and the Mother Earth.

In the Bhagavad-gītā, Kṛishṇa, an incarnation of the sun-god Vishṇu, proclaims that of all trees he is to be identified with Aśvattha.[1] Again, the Gobhila Gṛihya-Sūtra affirms that Āditya presides over that tree.[2] The Epic identifies Vishṇu with Aśvattha, Udumbara or Nyagrodha[3] (Vaṭa). In certain Purāṇas, Aśvattha is equated with Vishṇu, Vaṭa with Rudra, and Palāśa with Brahmā,[4] while in others, it is Vishṇu who is connected with Vaṭa.[5] The fact is that Vishṇu and Śiva are identical with each other and with the Mother Goddess, and that hence there is no need to reject the authority of our sacred texts. It is impossible to distinguish the worship of the sun-god from that of the *liṅga*, while the latter cult is inextricably mixed with worship of *yoni* : this is true of all ancient civilisations.[6] In India, therefore, people, who sought to bring into prominence the *liṅga*-cult, were amply justified in stating that Prakṛiti is nothing but the sacred *liṅga* itself.[7]

In the Kādambarī, the 'maternity home' (Sūtikā-gṛiha) of Vilāsavatī is said to be decorated with Svastika-designs and figures of Shashṭhī,[8] Kārtikeya, as well as of Sūrya and Chandra.[9]

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[1] Bhagavad-gītā, X. 26 :— 'अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणाम् ।'. For Aśvattha, read also XV. 1 f., and Jarl Charpentier's identification of Naichāśākha with Nyagrodha (Banyan) tree in JRAS. 1930, p. 340.

[2] 'आदित्यदेवतोऽश्वत्थः ।' —as quoted in a footnote to Pāraskara G. S., (Veṅkaṭeśvar ed., Saṁ. 1986), p. 319.

[3] Hopkins, p. 208.

[4] Padma P., *Uttarakhaṇḍa* (as quoted in JASB. 1870, pt. i. p. 221) :—
'अश्वत्थरूपो भगवान्विष्णुरेव न संशयः । रुद्ररूपो वटस्तद्वत्पलाशो ब्रह्मरूपधृक् ॥'
Ibid. Kriyāyogakhaṇḍa, Ch. XII.

[5] Bhāgavata P., III. 33. 4.

[6] After writing the whole thesis we learn that C. A. Autran has dealt with the association of Mithra with the worship of the Mother Goddess in the second chapter of his book entitled "Mithra, Zoroastre et la pré-histoire aryenne du christianisme" which has, however, evoked somewhat harsh criticism from a writer in the Annals of Arch. and Anthrop., Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-2 (1936), p. 61. Autran tries to show that the worship of this couple was practiced in the third millennium B. C., "from the Indus valley to the Nile via South Arabia and to the Aegean via Mesopotamia. In India, he maintains, Mithra was the prototype of Śiva."

[7] Liṅga-P., III. 2 :— 'प्रधानं प्रकृतिश्चेति यदाहुर्लिङ्गमुत्तमम् ।'

[8] The Indian fertility goddess presiding over the welfare of a newly born child and its mother. She is to be worshipped on the 6th day of the birth of child.

Her proper, representative is said to be "a rough stone as big as a man's head, smeared with red point, and set at the foot of the sacred Vaṭa-tree." (Allen, p. 77.). But in Mahārāshṛra she does not seem to be worshipped this wise.

[9] 'आलिखितस्वस्तिकभक्तिजालमुपरचयता......भगवतीं षष्ठीं देवीं कुर्वता
............कार्तिकेयं रचयता...सूर्याचन्द्रमसावाबध्नता ।'
—Kādambarī (Parab), p. 142-43.

The Svastika was also very intimately connected with the Sun, as with the Mother-Goddess, in many nations of antiquity.[1] In the estimate of various writers, it was an "emblem of Ẓeus, of Baal, of the Sun, of the Sun-God, of the Sun-Chariot, of Agni,"[2] etc. But in reality these divinities are only different forms of the same male counterpart of the Mother-Goddess, who is pre-eminently auspicious (Svasti). "Mr. Percy Gardner found a coin of the ancient city of Mesembria in Thrace stamped with a gammadion, bearing within its open centre an image of the Sun—Mesembria meaning the city of 'Mid-day', and this name being figured in some of its coins by the decisive legend ΜΕΣ 卐 ".[3] The Svastika here definitely stands for the Sun. According to Perry, "human sacrifice was specially associated with the great Mother-Goddess and with the Sun-God."[4] We know now how intimately both trees and mountains were connected with the worship of the Earth Goddess; and because the Sun appears (so says Mackenzie) to take birth out of the mountains, trees were also depicted as giving birth to the Sun.[5] Dr. Mackenzie regards solar worship as a part of the beliefs connected with megaliths and includes among the 'various forms' of the Mother Goddess 'the Sun, the vulture the cow' as well as 'the sycamore' fig.

Durgā is called in the Mahābhārata the nourisher of the Sun and the Moon.[6] Of Aditi, the nourisher of the Sun-god, we have already spoken. But in an Āraṇyaka, Durgā is spoken of as Vairochanī (daughter of the Sun or Fire).[7] This anomalous relation between Aditi-Durgā and the Sun is itself an independent proof of the identity of the Sky Father and the Sun God;—at any rate, it proves that they occupy the same status in relation to the Mother Goddess. And if Aditi is identical with Sky at times, she can easily be identical with the Sun.

So among the Sabæans of Arabia Felix, the Mother Goddess "was identified with the Sun and the morning star".[8] In Japan, the Sun is a mother goddess, named Ama-Terasu, to whom orgiastic sacrifices are offered, and from whom the Emperor (Mikado) claims his descent.[1] Aditi, it is admitted even by the great Vedic scholar Dr. Keith, appears in her 'earlier' form as supporting the solar disk.[2] Prof. Jean Przyluski has shown that " in Vedic religion as in Syrian the Great Goddess has been transformed into the Sun''.[3] According to Yāska, Sūryā is only a synonym of Aditi-Vāk, especially of her form Ushas. In the Bṛihat-saṃhitā, Sāvitrī (the daughter of Brahman subjected to concubinage) is styled as Adityā and Kāśyapī.[4] According to the Bṛihad-devatā, Sāvitrī, Sūryā, and Vṛishākapāyī are mere epithets of Ushas, the wife of the Sun-God.[5] Ripumārī Durgā should be meditated upon as being in the Solar orb.[6] Elsewhere, in a list of Śakti's names[7] we are told that the Mother Goddess, residing in the solar orb, is known as Prabhā; and this Prabhā, the purifier of all quarters, has a glorious piece of description devoted to her in Kālidāsa.[8] Prabhā appears in some Purāṇic passages as a wife of the Sun-God.[9] In the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Kālikā or Ambikā is described as " bearing the rays of the Sun."[10] Moreover in the Ṛig-veda Aditi is 'mātā Devānām' (Mater Deum), and the term Ādityas also " seems not infrequently to be used in a wider sense as an equivalent for .the gods generally."[11] That is, she is undoubtedly the mother of Ādityas (suns), and a son is merely a part and parcel of the mother.

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[1] M. I., XII. 59; P. Acharya, l. c., p. 735; The Svastika, 772; IA. 1911. 15 f.

[2] The Svastika, p. 770 f.

[3] Larned, V. p. 3241.

[4] *The Children of the Sun*, p. 222 f.

[5] Mackenzie, p. 179; figs. 49–51. This phenomenon may be otherwise explained by the identity of tree with the Goddess.

[6] Bhīshma-parva, 23. 16:—' चन्द्रादित्यविवर्धिनी । '

[7] T. A., X. 1.

[8] J. E., II. 207; Langdon, 15.

By the way, in the Skanda Purāṇa occurs a verse, according to which the feet of Vishṇu (the Sun-God) have the following great marks[12] :—(1) The crescent, (2) a Kalaśa or water-jar, (3) a triangle, (4) a bow, (5) the Sky, (6) the foot-mark of cattle (gosh-pad), (7) a fish, (8) a conch, (9) an octagon, (10) a Svastika, (11) an umbrella, (12) a discus, (13) a grain of barley, (14) an elephant-goad (aṅkuśa), (15) a flag, (16) a thunderbolt, (17) a *jambū*-fruit symbol, (18) an upright line, (19) a lotus. Of these the first eight belong to the left and the rest to the right foot. It may be seen in the course of this essay that, the symbols on the left foot are especially connected with the Mother Goddess. This means that the left part in the case of Vishṇu (a sun-god) was possibly identified with the Goddess, just as in the case of Śiva, it was definitely so. This fact, as suggested elsewhere, is in conformity with the conception of thc identity of the Mother Goddess and the Father God.

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[1] Antiquity, Sept. 1940, p. 304 f.

[2] I. C., II. p. 371 f.

[3] I. C., III. p. 721 f.

[4] ' ब्रह्मणो दुहितासि त्वमादित्येति प्रकीर्तिता ।
काश्यपी गोत्रतश्चैव नामतो विश्रुता तुला ॥ ' BS. XXVI. 5.

[5] BD. VII. 119-121. (Macdonell's ed., Harward Univ., 1904).

[6] E. H. Ic., 345 f.; cf. ' रक्तां ध्यात्वा रवेर्बिम्बे । ' Śāradā-tilaka (quoted ibid.).

[7] Matsya P., 14. 52 :— ' सूर्यबिम्बे प्रभा नाम मातॄणां वैष्णवी मता । '
Also see Mbh., IV. 6. 24.

[8] Raghu., II.15 :—' संचारपूतानि दिगन्तराणि कृत्वा दिनान्ते निलयाय गन्तुम् ।
प्रचक्रमे पल्लवरागताम्रा प्रभा पतङ्गस्य मुनेश्च धेनुः ॥ '

[9] Mastya P., 11. 1.

[10] ' जय घृतभास्करकिरणे ' KSS. Taranga, 78th st. 91.

[11] V. M.. p. 44.

[12] ' चन्द्रार्द्धं कलशं त्रिकोणधनुषी खं गोष्पदं पोष्ठिकां शङ्खं सव्यपदेऽथ दक्षिणपदे कोणाष्टकं स्वास्तिकं । छत्रं चक्रयवाङ्कुशध्वजपविं जम्बूर्द्ध्वरेखाम्बुजं बिभ्राणं हरिमूनविंशति महालक्ष्मार्चिताङ्घ्रिं भजे ॥ ' —Skanda Purāṇa, as quoted in JASB. 1864, p. 180.

I should here profitably quote Theobald's observations[1] : " One of the earliest systems of religion elaborated by the reflective faculties of civilized (?) man, was the worship of the reproductive forces of Nature, which under the form of Śivite worship exists in India in full force at the present day. Scarcely distinguishable from this cult and coeval with it is the worship of the Sun, and planets, as the Sun was regarded not only as the most striking and appropriate symbol of deity, but as directly and physically the source and sustainer of life. The ancients were as quick as ourselves in perceiving that without heat and moisture life was impossible, and hence originated the philosophical idea of attributing masculine and feminine attributes or functions to heat and humidity respectively."

The Chakra or wheel : " The wheel is in various ritual performances employed as a symbol of the Sun, as representing both its shape and motion. It is thus used in the Vājapeya sacrifice, in the ceremony of laying the sacrificial fire, and at the solstical festival ".[2]

Representation of the Sun as a chakra is found even in the ' earliest ' of the Vedas.[3] Later on, it becomes a weapon in the hand of a sun-god (Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). The ' wheel of the Sun ' is often referred to in the Ṛig-veda in connection with Etaśa[4] and it is supposed in later mythology that the disc of the Sun is really the remaining wheel of the sun-god's chariot. But some forms of Durgā hold it as a weapon, and Chakra-rupā appears as a synonym of Chaṇḍī in the Agni Purāṇa.[5]

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[1] Theobald, p. 195. We may not also forget that the Mother Goddess is always identifiable in foreign countries as well as in India with objects looked upon as her attributes. For instance, if she is described in Tantrasāra of Kṛishṇānanda as ' nāga-yajnopavītā ', she is identical with ' nāga '. The same work describes her as " Vanhyarka-śaśi-netrā ". This means that she is to be identified with the Fire, the Sun and the Moon. For the relation between ' Fire ' on one hand and the Mother-Goddess and her consort on the other, see below. p. 112–123 ; R. P. Chanda, l. c. p. 137.

[2] V. M., p. 155.

[3] RV. I. 175. 4; IV. 30. 4.

[4] V. M., p. 149–50.

[5] Agni P., 125, st. 45.

It is indeed happily guessed that in certain places the "rayed disc of the Sun is placed on an altar :and surrounded by a railing, thus clearly indicating that the figures enclosed within the railing were really objects of worship inside a shrine"[1] : His place was quite legitimately on an altar (Vedi–Pṛithivī) like that of Agni.

Theobald refers to an archaic symbol which occupies "the most conspicuous position at the top" of a stone from Bressay (Shetland) and remarks :—"There can be little doubt it represents an ancient wheel, and is here used as a symbol of the sun".[2] This "solar wheel is an extremely common symbol on terracotta whorls dug up by Schliemann at Troy".[3] A symbol[4] closely connected with the sun or wheel symbol, occurs on Troy pottery and terracotta whorls, where Schliemann identifies it with the cult of the eternal virgin Athene (a Greek goddess identified with the Roman Minerva, corresponding, as we said, to Indian Jayā or Vijayā). Theobald, however, thinks that this Trojan symbol stands for the Earth as surrounded by the seven planets of the Chaldæan astronomers. This and other forms of the *shaḍara-chakras*, as Pt. Durga Prasad calls them (the 'chhatras' of Theobald, Walsh,[5] etc.), can be demonstrably shown to represent the solar disc inspite of the learned Pandit's arguments. For the Vedas distinctly say that, in the opinion of some, the seven-fold solar wheel had shaḍara (six spokes) set in it, while others called it a twelve-spoked wheel.[6] This twelve-spoked symbol is also mentioned by Hemādri, in connection with the worship of Sūrya ;[1] curiously he calls it a dvādaśāra padma (12-spoked lotus) and not a dvādaśāra chakra. Undoubtedly some chakras on coins look like padmas; but a padma can have no *aras* or spokes but only petals. The six spokes are of course the six ṛitus (seasons), while the twelve spokes are identical with the twelve suns (= dvādaś–ādityāḥ), who, as Dr. R. Shama Śāstrī points out, are merely twelve phases of the Sun presiding over twelve months of the year. These twelve phases make him Dvādaśākṛiti or Dvadaśātma. (Among the Chaldæans, too, there were twelve suns, to each of which, according to Diodorus, they attributed a month, and a Sign of the Zodiac.[2]) And these twelve phases are, indeed, the twelve forms of Keśava, referred to in the Naishadhīya-charita, as is contended by Nārāyaṇa in his commentory on that work.[3] Incidentially, Keśava etymologically means nothing more than 'one possessed of keśas' or hair, which Yāska, following earlier authorities, identifies with rays.[4] Keśava is, therefore, the same as Keśin, who is described in the Ṛig-veda,[5] as supporting the Earth and the Sky. He is referred to as "this light," which Durgāchārya and Sāyaṇa rightly understand in the sense of 'Āditya'.[6]

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[1] IA. 1925, p. 162.
[2] Theobald, p. 197.
[3] Ibid. p. 205.
[4] Ibid. fig. 96.
[5] Dugraprasad, p. 17 ; 37 ; etc. Walsh later on called them 'Troy Marks', because of their common occurrence in Troy. JBORS. 1919, p. 16-72 ; 463-494 ; JRAS. 1924, Cent. Suppl. 175-189 ; 1937, p. 619-620.
[6] AV. IX. ix. 2 f. :—

"सप्त युञ्जन्ति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनामा ।
त्रिनाभि चक्रमजरमनर्वं यत्रेमा विश्वा भुवनाधि तस्थुः ॥
इमं रथमधि ये सप्त तस्थुः सप्तचक्रं सप्त वहन्त्यश्वाः ।...
पञ्चपादं पितरं द्वादशाकृतिं दिव आहुः परे अर्धे पुरीषिणम् ।
अथेमे अन्य उपरे विचक्षणे सप्तचक्रे षडर आहुरर्पितम् ॥
द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य ।"

Durgaprasad, p. 31, also shows that on coins, wheels with "12 radial lines", —corresponding to the description of a dvādaśārachakra in the Narasiṃha Tāpani Up., are also found.

Compare RV. I. 164. 2 f. Also RV. I. 164. 48 :—

'द्वादश प्रधयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।
तस्मिन् त्साकं त्रिशता न शङ्कवोऽर्पिताः षष्टिर्न चलाचलासः ॥'

The Saura-ratha is described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (V. 22. 13-13) as :—

'यस्यैकं चक्रं द्वादशारं षण्नेमि त्रिनाभि संवत्सरात्मकं समामनन्ति तस्याक्षो मेरोर्मूर्धनि कृतो etc. ॥

Vide Orion, p. 12 f.; Dikshit, 28 f.

To return to "shaḍarachakra". A form of this symbol "occurs in the lowest stratum at Troy 23 ft. below the surface on terracotta whorls mixed with stone implements. In this archaic form of the symbol, the apex of the 'chhatra' (called 'arrows' by Schliemann and Durga Prasad) is directed inwards instead of outwards, and the solar nature of the inner disc on which the 'chhatra' rests (as it were in a topsyturvy fasion) is placed beyond doubt by the numerous radiating lines surrounded by it."[7] On the coins of Mesembria (in Thrace), already referred to, appears a radiate wheel, which according to Percy Gardner is "apparently a symbol of the sun-god."[8] We may also note in this connection that designs, which may be easily mistaken for the Sun-symbol, but which Dr. Hutton calls the Lotus-symbol, occur on monoliths assuming the form of a Yoni or a Liṅga.[9]

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[1] 'उपलिप्य शुचौ देशे सूर्यं तत्र समर्चयेत्। संलिखेत्तत्र पद्मं तु द्वादशारं सकर्णिकम्॥'
—Hemādri, *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, p. 553.

[2] Das. p. 243.

[3] Naishadhīya-charita, xxi. 42 :—
'उत्तमं स महति स्म महीभृत्पूरुषं पुरुषसूक्तविधानैः।
द्वादशापि च स केशवमूर्तीर्द्वादशाक्षरमुदीर्य ववन्दे॥'

Nārāyaṇa, in his Naishadhīya-prakāśa, quotes in this connection a passage from Padma Purāṇa, which identifies the twelve forms of Keśava with twelve "Koṭi"-liṅgas, thus proving the original identity of Śiva and Vishṇu.

[4] Nirukta, XII. 25. 2 :— 'केशी केशा रश्मयस्तैस्तद्वान्भवति।'
T. S. VII. 5. 25:— 'केशा रश्मयः।'

[5] Sāyaṇa has :— 'केशाः केशस्थानीया रश्मयः।' on RV. X. 136. 1 :—
'केश्यग्निं केशी विषं केशी बिभर्ति रोदसी। केशी विश्वं स्वर्दृशे केशीदं ज्योतिरुच्यते॥'

[6] Dugra on Nirukta, XII. 26. 1.

[7] Theobald, p. 215 ; see also p. 216

[8] Hist. Anc. Coinage, p. 131. Supra, 101.

[9] Antiquity, III. 324 f.; plates I to IV ; also fig. 2.

CHAPTER XI

Stars, Planets, etc.

Many authorities on astrology-astronomy are agreed on the close similarity between the Indian and Chaldæan systems. We shall note only a few identical points in this connection by way of introduction to this chapter.

The Chaldæans seem to have reckoned the time from the creation of the existing astral bodies to the great Deluge to cover 432,000 years.[1] The ancient Indians recognized the present unfortunate age (Kali yuga) as consiting of exactly the same number of years.[2] 'The Chaldæans admitted the eternity of the world without any beginning'.[3] The Indians often did the same. Zodiacal signs have identical names in both the systems, and the Chaldæan names are known to have been borrowed, with modifications, by the Greeks, the ancient Arabians, etc. The Chaldæan origin of the signs of the Zodiac has now been placed beyond doubt by the efforts of Lenormant, Jensen, Epping, etc., and the ideograms used in that country explain many a legend in their connection.

It cannot be, however, denied that the invention of the calendar has a historical back-ground, not in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris, but in the Nile valley. In fact, "They (the ancient Egyptians) were thc first people to measure the year and to devise a calendar, and later on to substitute for the rough calculation based upon the date of the annual Nile flood the exact measurement based upon the observation of the sun's movements."[4] The Sumerians and the Chaldæans might have considerably added to what they borrowed, from the Egyptians. In the days of Sargon they are known to have borrowed the Egyptian practice of counting years by means of great events that occurred in them.[5]

Now, in the religion of the Sumerians and Chaldæans, which was surcharged with magical incantations and mystic formulæ, astral symbolism played a prominent part: for astrology, indeed, was an important branch of magic.[6] In fact, it is not unoften that astronomy is mentioned as 'Chaldæan wisdom', and astrologers as Chaldæans, in the Hebrew Bible.[7] For the Chal-

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1. J. E., II. 66.
2. A. J. A. Dubois, l. c., p. 415.
3. J. E., II. 66.
4. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, p. 7.
5. Perry, p. 62.
6. Wooly, *The Sumerians*, p. 127.
7. Daniel, IV. 7.

dæan—Babylo-Assyrian priests, those inventors of the sun-dial, astrology was an important means to ascertain the divine will, and it is to their credit (not to that of Hipparchus, as was for a long time believed), that they discovered the precession of equinoxes, the lengths of the synodic, sidereal, anomalistic, and draconitic months, etc.[1]

The Egyptians also seem to have known the 'science' of astrology. There it was intimately connected with the people's belief in the life after death as also with the construction of the pyramids, etc.; and, perhaps, "never was there a people more dependent on its priestly astrologers than the Egyptians." "Astrolatry was, in Egypt, the prelude to astronomy."[2] The stars had to be duly observed, if they had to be duly worshipped; and their heliacal risings, which seemed to regulate the behaviour of the Nile and all agricultural operations (and hence the very life of the ancient Egyptians), had to be carefully noted. "The constellation system in vogue among the Egyptians appears to have been essentially of native origin".[3] Again, "the curiously precise orientation of the Pyramids affords a lasting demonstration of the high degree of technical skill in watching the heavens attained in the third millennium B.C." [E. B. (11th ed.) II. 809. i.] It is, then, just likely that this 'science' of astrology first came into being in the valley of the Nile, though it flourished only when it was transplanted in the land of two rivers.

In Egypt, stars "were regarded as snakes or these were their symbols."[4] They could, therefore, be equated with the Goddess in her various forms. In Babylonian religion, Ishtar was a daughter either of Anu (Sky Father) or of Sin (a moon-god). "Daugther of Sin, her emblem was star."[5] "At the shrine of Afca, she (Ishtar) was worshipped as a star."[6] In India, Dākshāyaṇī (= 'a star') is also a name of the Mother Goddess, and so is 'Tārā' (or Tārakā). The so-called 'Ujjain' or 'Mālava' symbol is a sign of wide occurrence, and is recognized at Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans as a star-sign.[7]

Mother Goddess identified with Venus :—The Old Testament refers to "Meleket ha-Shamayim" (= "the Queen of Heaven"), for whom cakes were baked, and who is consequently identified with Venus. For, among the Assyro-Babylonians, "the cake-offerings" were called " the bread of Ishtar (Venus:)."[1] Worship of Venus was, no doubt, common to the Hebrews,[2] and Astarte was known as Ashtoreth Qarnaim (the horned Astarte), in a town of the same name, east of the Jordan, " because of the lunar crescent which appears on her forehead, as a sort of headdress."[3] Now, an omen text of Assurbanipal's era contains a reference to a star on the right horn of Venus as a sign of good luck, while another tablet refers to Ishtar as supporting it on her right horn, heralding good fortune for the king of Elam.[4] Good luck, we know, is essentially a virtue of the Mother Goddess, and it seems clear that it was not only the crescent moon (=Sinīvālī) that was identified with the Goddess, but also the planet Venus. Thus she is known to have been identified with the planet also at Mecca and in Assyria.[5] The Babylonian Ninsianna-Ninni-Innina-Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, the Moon-god, was identified also with Sirius and Virgo (Kanyā); but her identification with the planet Venus was her " most marked " chacteristic.[6] Others have also opined that there is little doubt that Venus was the stellar symbol of the great Phœnician-Syrian goddess Ashtoreth-Astarte,[7] who often conceived as the spirit of the evening.

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[1] E. B., II. 575–576 ; 582 f.

[2] Ibid. W. C. Taylor, l. c., 22.

[3] E. B., II. 582.

[4] ERE. XI. 399 f.

[5] Delaporte, p. 139 f.

[6] JRAS. 1915. 201–202.

[7] Evans, I. p. 514 ; 281 ; etc.

The Southern Arabs called Venus Athtar (or Ishtar), while "their brothers in the north, especially in the case of their descendants the Safaites, adored the star as Allāt,.........their name for Venus."[8] Writing about the significance of the crescent and stars on certain Sassanian coins, a writer observes that the 'conjunction of Venus and the moon was a sign of good luck and prosperity in ancient Iran.[9] According to the same writer, the Persian Astronomy was borrowed from the Babylonians, and the Avesta and Pahlavi texts frequently refer to the astronomical devices. The Sassanian sovereigns often consulted the stars and were guided by their horoscopes ; naturally, says the writer, we find, engraved on gems, etc. "numerous astrological subjects notably the signs of the Zodiac, and the image of Anāhita," who according to the Avesta, "has descended from the stars upon the Earth."[1] This Ārdvī Sūra Anāhita (the Wet, Strong, and Immaculate one), the increaser of life and prosperity, is really a fertility goddess, responsible for generating *juniorum semen* as well as for purifying the wombs of women and their milk. She is rightly identified by Herodotus with Ishtar.[2] Langdon also confirms that Venus, along with the Sun and the Moon, makes a frequent appearance on the coins of the South Arabians in Abyssinia,[3] and that the Earth-goddess, Astarte, who is by name the South Arabian male deity, is identified with Venus in North and West Semitic religions. The entire mythology of Astarte goes back to the Sumerian Ininni = Ishtar, goddess of Venus and mother, wife and lover of the Sumerian dying god Tammuz.[4] Again he says, that as a morning star, "Ishtar and Astarte are the war-goddesses in Babylonia and among all West Semitic people, where she has the special name 'Alat'. This mythology is of Sumerian origin."[5] According to him, this "myth rose in hoary antiquity, before 3000 B. C., and forms one of the principal features of Babylonian, Assyrian, Aramaic, and Canaanitish religion."[6] We may only note here that the death of the 'dying god' Tammuz is more easily explicable in the Nile valley than in Mesopotamia.

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[1] J. E., II. 246, col. ii. These correspond to Indian Puroḍāśa offered to Sinīvālī and others, on Darśa and other sacrifices.

[2] Ibid. p. 249, col. i.

[3] Maspero, 157 ; Stade in J. E., II. 205. Milton refers to "Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians called Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns." (*Paradise Lost*, i. 438).

[4] JRAS. 1915. 197.

[5] J. E., II. p. 207.

[6] ERE., II. 115, col. ii.; 116, col. ii.; Landon, p. 15.

[7] JRAS. 1915. 197.

[8] Ibid. p. 198.

[9] JASB. 1917 (NS. XIII), Num. Suppl., p. 168–169.

In Arabia, according to another authority, Venus "revered as a great goddess under the name of al-'Uzza, which might be rendered 'the Most Mighty',"—to whom human sacrifices, so characteristic of the Mother Goddess, were offered by Mudhir and others,—seems to be identified by Nilus and Procopius with Aphrodite.[7] This identification, though doubted, is correct, since Aphrodite is only a form of the Great Goddess.

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[1] Ibid. p. 169.

[2] Ibid. p. 57. JRAS. 1906. 825–829. Anāhita simply stands for 'the Immaculate one'; i. e. Anāhitā = Kumārī-Kanyā in Sanskrit. She is identical with Anat, or Aniti, or Anaïti, mentioned in Phœnician inscription, and much worshipped among the Canaanites. The Syrian (Aramæan) Astarte was also called Anat. She "is represented in Egyptian dress on several stelæ of the XIXth and XXth dynasties." (Maspero, p. 158). Obviously she is the Egyptian Anit, who is equated with Hathor and is the mother of one of the Horus gods. She was represented as a wife of Mentu or Menthu, a sun-god of Thebes.

[3] Langdon, p. 3.

[4] Ibid. p. 14.

[5] Ibid. p. 26.

[6] Ibid. p. 27; cf. 29 f.

[7] ERE., I. 660, col. ii.; 665, col. ii. I confess, al-'Uzzā reminds me of Ushas (a female Vedic deity presiding over morning and evening twilights). Venus appearing at twllight times can easily be looked upon as the presiding deity of that phenomenon. Has al-Uzza any connection with the Egyptian goddess Uazet, (Uatchet) or Buto, the foster mother of Horus ?

In Egypt, Venus-Isis, as a female principle, is said to have been definitely found only in the last phase of her civilisation ; but it is admitted that the idea of Venus as a mother goddess may have existed in earlier times.[1] According to Plato, Venus was a daughter of Uranos, and a goddess of Nature, i. e., probably Aphrodite.

Venus = Śukra = Attā :—Venus is Śukra in Sanskrit, and Śukra is identified with Āditya (the Sun-god) in many Brāhmaṇa passages.[2] In the Atharvaveda, too, Śukra is an epithet of the Sun-god.[3] The identification of Śukra with the Sun seems to be due to the conception arising out of the fact that Śukra rises and sets not long before or after the rising or setting of the Sun. So the planet could easily be looked upon as the presiding deity as it were of the sun. The Sun-god or Śukra has, thus, two forms ; and actually in a hymn, where he is identified with Rohita (the ruddy, morning Sun), Śukra is referred to as having two forms.[4] Incindentally, this appears to me to be the origin of the idea contained in the famous stanza, wherein two eagles, friendly and in accompaniment with each other, are said to resort to a common Pippala tree (Ficus Religiosa).[5] This tree may, perhaps, stand for Ushas or even Dyaus as identical with Aditi.

But even in Indian mythology, the *original* identity of Śukra and the Mother Goddess may not be doubted. In fact, the identity of Venus with the Mother Goddess in western mythology and of Śukra with the Sun in India may itself be looked upon as a proof of the original identity of the Sun and the Mother Goddess. Śukra-vāra (= 'the day of Śukra' = Friday) is reckoned to be a sacred day for Ambā (or Allā) amongst the Hindus ; Jummā (Friday) is a sacred day to Allāh of the Muslims, who was originally variously conceived as a Sun-goddess or a Moon-goddess, or also at times as the planet of Venus.[1] "Mahomed makes Friday, the sacred day of prayer and after prayer he enjoins his adorers to have coition with their wives."[2]

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[1] Myth. A. R., XII. 54 f.

[2] Ś. B., IV. ii. 1. 1 ; IV. iii. 3. 17 ; IV. v. 9. 6 ; IX. iv. 2. 21 ; Tāṇḍya Br., XV. v. 9 ; Gopatha Br., *Pūrva-bhāga*, II. 6 ; etc.

[3] AV. XIII. 3. 16 :—

'शुक्रं वहन्ति हरयो रघुष्यदो देवं दिवि वर्चसा भ्राजमानम् ।'

[4] AV. XIII. 2. 42 :—

'आरोहन्छुक्रो बृहतीरतन्द्रो द्वे रूपे कृणुते रोचमानः ।'

There is also another interpretation possible. Śukra, as applicable to the sun-god, may not mean anything but "white"; but which are the two forms of this 'rohita sun'? Agni and Sūrya? Mote the following Ṛik about Agni :—

'शुक्रः शुशुक्वाँ उषो न जारः......भुवो देवानां पिता पुत्रः सन् ॥'

RV. I. 69. 1.

[5] RV. I. 164. 20 = AV. IX. 9. 20 = Muṇḍaka Up., III. i. 1 = Śvetāśvatara Up., IV. 6. Nirukta XIV. 30. I do not regard this suggestion as anything more than a possible conjecture.

Again, Śukra is Attā in Sanskrit.[3] Attā or Atti stands for mother in the Dravidian,[4] and so does Att-ei in the Scythian.[5] Langdon says :—" The Mother Goddess of the Aramæans in the late period was Atargatis, a Greek transcription of 'Atar-'Ate corrupted also to Tar-'ata, hence Greek and Latin Derketo. This double name contains the ordinary Arabian name of Venus Athtar and the Aramaic name of the Mother Goddess, 'Ate,'Atā,'Attā."[6] No diehard sceptic need suggest that this identity between the epithets of the Indian Śukra and the Aramaic Mother Goddess is merely due to coincidence, nor may anybody now expend his ingenuity over pure Sanskritic etymology of that word to derive its independent origin.[7] For not only a considerable section of the Vedic "Aryans" (?) migrated from Arvāvat = Arbāya = Arabia, taking with them their goddess Attā-Ilāh-Allāh, but the foreign element in the name Atti-Attā is, perhaps, already recognized in a Brāhmaṇa text.[8] Again, even the Purāṇas acknowledge the identity of the goddess and Śukra by calling her Śukra-devikā.[1] L. B. Paton has noted that the sex of 'Ate or 'Atar is 'uncertain'[2] "In South Arabia, Abyssinia and Moab it is masculine, in Assyria and Canaan it is feminine."[3] G. A. Barton also says that in southern Arabia at least Athtar-Ishtar was changed into a masculine deity,[4] and that an interesting inscription exhibits the transition in process. Winckler has shown that Ashurbanipal twice equates 'Atar-samain ("Heavenly 'Atar") with the Assyrian Ishtar, which "is always feminine (in spite of the absence of fem. ending)."[5] This is how Ilā-Aditi-Athtar-Atar changes her sex: In India, she becomes (the masculine) Śukra. "As a goddess Athtar was a mother, and was bifurcatad (rather than transformed) into a masculine and feminine deity, the father and the mother of mankind,"[6] just like Indian Aditi-Iḷā.

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[1] Friday was sacred to Babylo-Assyrian Ishtar-Venus and Jewish Ashtoreth, and a pious Catholic should eat fish on that day. Etymologically, *Friday* < A. Sax. *Frige-dæg*, is related to G. *Freytag*, and is a day sacred to Frigga or Freya (Teutonic), or Freyja (Scandinavian), the most prominent mother-goddess of NW. Europe.

[2] The Origin of the Cross, p. 32.

[3] Ś. B., IV. ii. 1. 3. :—अत्तैव शुक्र आद्यो मन्थी (ग्रहः)।
Ś. B., V. iv. 4. 20 :—अत्ता वै शुक्रः (ग्रहः)।

[4] Caldwell, l. c., p. 454.

[5] Ibid p. 498.

[6] l. c., p. 36.

[7] Brahma-sūtras I. ii. 9-10 run as :—"Attā charāchara-grahaṇāt Prakaraṇāch-cha." Here Attā is identified with the Supreme Principle, Brahman. *Śārīra-bhāshya* of Śaṅkarāchārya, probably correctly following the interpretation of the Sūtrakāra Bādarāyaṇa himself, gives an etymology which all orthodox Sanskrit scholars would be reluctant to set aside, viz. < rt. "*ad*" to eat :—

'त्रयाणां चाग्निजीवपरमात्मनामास्मिन्ग्रन्थे प्रश्नोपन्यासोपलब्धेः। किं तावत्प्राप्तम्। अग्निरत्तेति। कुतः, 'अग्निरन्नादः' इति श्रुतिप्रसिद्धिभ्याम्। जीवो वात्ता स्यात्, 'तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति' इति दर्शनात्। न परमात्मा, 'अनश्नन्नन्योऽभिचाकशीति' इति दर्शनादित्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः—अत्तात्र परमात्मा भवितुमर्हति। कुतः, चराचरग्रहणात्।'

I venture to add that "Attā" may be ultimately connected with the Egyptian Sun-god Aton; for Attā stands for the Sun even in the Vedas and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The Hittite word for father is Attash, which is undoubtedly connected with the Sanskrit word, and perhaps with Aton.

[8] Vide the remarks on Atti-khaṇḍa in the Ś. B.

Hat-hors and Kṛittikās: Another noteworthy fact is as follows: In Egypt, Hat-hor, the cow-shaped Celestial Goddess has been multiplied into a group of "seven Hat-hors."[7] In India, too, the Goddess multiplies into seven mothers (sapta Mātṛikās).[8] They are identical with seven Kṛittikās or Pleiades, and Kṛittikās are Bahulāḥ (= many). They are mothers of Kumāra, who is also known as Kārtikeya or Bāhuleya.[9] Kumāra is only one of the nine names of Agni, whose other names are Rudra, Sarva, Bhava, Mahādeva, Aśani, etc. He is his own son, Kumāra. Numerous Vedic passages make Agni a child of 'Seven Sisters' (sapta svasāraḥ),[10] often identified with seven 'waters' (āpaḥ), or seven rivers (sapta Sindhavaḥ).[1] Hence, he is called an off-spring (napāt) of waters.

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[1] Agni P. 145. 16. Śukra is Bhārgava; hence, Śukra-devikā may be Bhārgavī = Frigga or Freyja.

[2] ERE. II. 168, col. ii.

[3] Ibid. 165, col. i.

[4] J. E., II. 206.

[5] ERE. II. 165, col. i.

[6] J. E., II. 206; 'अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः।' —RV. I. 89. 10 = AV. VII. 6. 1 = YV. 25. 23 = TA. I. 13. 2. = Nirukta IV. 23. Compare RV. VI. 1. 5 (addressed to Agni):—'त्वं त्राता तरणे चेत्यो भूः पिता माता सदमिन्मानुषाणाम्।' Also cf. 'त्वमेव माता च पिता त्वमेव etc.' addressed to Śri-Krishṇa in the Pāṇḍava-Gītā, etc. 'Atar is Fire also.

[7] Myth. A. R., XII. 40.

[8] According to Richards, *Side Light on the 'Dravidian Problem'*, p. 21, "The Mother Goddesses of South India (and every village has several cults) are quite independent of any consorts,...and though their varied manifestations have been standardised into seven types (the 'Seven Mothers' analogous to the little understood cult of the 'Seven Maidens'), yet I cannot resist the inference that these consortless 'Mothers' have some direct relationship with Cybele."

[9] Amara-kośa, st. 44-45; Matsya P. 105. 27 f.; etc.

[10] RV. II. 35 13:—

'स ईं वृषाजनयत्तासु गर्भं स ईं शिशुर्धयति तं रिहन्ति।
सो अपां नपादभिम्लातवर्णोऽन्यस्येवेह तन्वा विवेष॥'

RV. VII. 49. 4:—'वैश्वानरो यास्वग्निः प्रविष्टस्ता आपो देवीरिह मामवन्तु।'

Now, the Kṛittikās are in the constellation of Vṛishabha (=Taurus). So the natural conclusion would be that they were regarded as 'gāvaḥ' or cows, evidently as identical with mother goddesses. And this is corroborated by Sanskrit lexicons.[2] The Kṛittikās are referred to in the Brāhmaṇas as being presided over by Agni-devatā.[3] Agni is called a Vṛishabha.[4] Again, there is a clear passage in the Vedas which refers to "seven sisters" in whom "the name of seven cows is put."[5] But in this passage, the Pleiades are connected, not with Agni, but with the Sun-god (or, more correctly, the solar wheel). Agni here appears to me to be identified with the Sun. And this identification finds support in the fact that the Arabs called the Sun "the Guardian of Pleiades."[6] Further evidence regarding the identificatinn of the Sun and the Fire is to be found in the fact that while Sūrya or Āditya, as though to remind us of the Egytian Sun-God Ra, is styled as Divas-putra[7] ('a son of Dyaus' or the Sky Father), Agni is called at any rate at one place Divas-sūnu :[8] otherwise Agni appears as a son of Dyāvā-Pṛithivī.[9] This by the way explains the epithet

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RV. III. 1. 3 and 11 :— 'अविन्दन्नु दर्शतमप्स्वन्तर्देवासो अग्निमपसि स्वसॄणाम् । ...ऋतस्य योनावशयद्दमूना जामीनामग्निरपसि स्वसॄणाम् । '

RV. X. 121. 7 :—

आपो ह यद्बृहतीर्विश्वमायन् गर्भं दधाना जनयन्तीरग्निम् ।

Compare RV. IX. 86. 36 :—

'सप्त स्वसारो अभि मातरः शिशुं नवं जज्ञानं जेन्यं विपश्चितम् ।
अपां गन्धर्वं दिव्यं नृचक्षसं सोमं विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजसे ॥'

Note the word genya; also Matsya P.,126. 48.:—अपां गर्भः समुत्पन्नः रथः(शशिनः) In the last 2 references, Kumāra is indentified with Soma (the moon).

[1] Āpaḥ are often called Sindhavaḥ, as in RV. VII. 47. 4.

[2] Amara-kośa St. 1407 :—
'बहुलाः कृत्तिका गावो बहुलोऽग्नौ शितौ त्रिषु । ' cf. Śaśvata-kośa, st. 16.

[3] T. S., IV. iv. 10.

[4] RV. II. 9. 2.

[5] Sāyaṇa misunderstands this in RV. I. 164. 3 = AV. IX. 9. 3 :—
'इमं रथमधि ये सप्त तस्थुः सप्तचक्रं सप्त वहन्त्यश्वाः ।
सप्त स्वसारो अभि सं नवन्ते यत्र गवां निहिताः सप्त नाम ॥'
cf. 'सप्त स्वसारः सुविताय सूर्यं वहन्ति हरितो रथे । ' —RV. VII. 66. 15.

[6] JASB. 1932 (NS. XXVIII), p. 91.

[7] RV. X. 37. 1 ; X. 77. 2 ; etc.

[8] RV. III. 25. 1 ; cf. III. 25. 3. Otherwise he is also called *Rudrasya sūnu*, because Rudra is Dyaus; cf. RV. I. 64. 12 :—' घृषुं पावकं वनिनं विचर्षणिं रुद्रस्य सूनुं हवसा गृणीमसि । '

[9] RV. VII. 7. 5 :—' द्यौश्च यं पृथिवी वावृधाते । '

Kumāra. In the Avestan tradition the sacred Fire upon the altar is said to have come from Ahura in Heaven. And the Purāṇas, following the Vedic texts, accept this identification of the Sun and the Fire.[1]

The seven Hat-hors of the Egyptians foretell, according to the great Egyptologist W. Max Müller, the future, especially of every child at his birth. W. Max Müller gives an interesting item of information which so to speak completes our identification of the Kṛittikās with the seven Egyptian Hat-hors. "The suspicion that these seven fates were originally the Pleiades, which among certain nations were codstellations of human fate (especially of all-omened fate), and also the foretellers of harvest, is confirmed when we find the "hat-hor cows with their bulls"; for the Pleiades are in the constellation of Taurus",[2] (=Vṛishabha). Max Müller notes that this zodiacal sign is not Egyptian and that it may have been borrowed from the Asiatics in the days of the New Empire (i. e., later than c. 1580 B. C.). May be, both the Indians and Egyptians borrowed it from some common source probably in Mesopotamia.

I am afraid that the Indian scholars have put too much reliance on certain astronomical traditions, which they have accepted at face value, and because imagination allowed it, they have assigned the Brāhmaṇa texts to c. 2350 B. C. or even 3000 B. C.[3] I am not convinced that the astronomical passages relating to Kṛittikās in those texts are not borrowals, say from earlier times. One such passage referring to the Kṛittikās as not swerving from the East, showing that the Vasanta Sampāta (=Vernal Equinox) once fell in the entrance of the Sun into Kṛittikās (Pleiades) is found not only in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[4] but also in Baudhāyana.[5] Not even the most orthodox of Indian scholars would aver that, because the astral position referred to by Baudhāyana pertains to circa 2350 B. C., therefore that writer has to be assigned to that hoary antiquity. What guarantee is then left that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa itself did not borrow that passage from earlier times? Numerous instances might, if necessary, be quoted to prove that earlier astronomical and other traditions are repeated *ad nauseam* in very late Purāṇas, etc. Kṛittikās are said to be the first (lit. 'the mouth') of all the *Nakshatras* in many Brāhmaṇa passages. But so are they among the Greeks, the Chinese[1] etc. down to late historic period. And they are now known to have borrowed their civilisation from the Sumerians and the Chaldæans. Independent origin is a myth long ago refuted with regard to many civilisations of old. Again, the connection of Agni with Kṛittikās, Sūrya and Vṛishabha perhaps becomes explicable by the myth of Gilgamesh referring to that *fire-breathing* celestial bull, said to have been created by Anu at the request of his daughter Ishtar-Ninni-Innina. The celestial bull is identical with the sign of "Taurus or the star Gud-ana, 'the bull of heaven',—a name which goes back to the age when vernal equinox coincided with the entrance of the Sun into Taurus."[2] And the same heavenly bull seems to be identified with Adad (or Hadad) in an early Accadian text.[3]

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[1] Matsya P., 128. 7-10 :—

'यश्चासौ तपते सूर्ये शुचिरग्निश्च स स्मृतः। ...प्रभा सौरी तु पादेन अस्तं याति दिवाकरे। अग्निमाविशते रात्रौ तस्मादग्निः प्रकाशते ॥'

ŚB. II. v. 1. 4 :—'अग्निर्वाऽअर्कः।' Also X. vi. 2. 5.

ŚB. VIII. vi. 2. 9=IX. iv. 2. 18 :—अयं वाऽग्निरर्कः।'

[2] Myth. A. R., XII. 40.

[3] For a discussion on these passages, vide Dikshit, p. 127 f.; 133 ; etc. Camb. H. I., I. p. 147 f.; V. Rangacharya's *Vedic India* (*Hist. Pre-Musalman India*, vol. II.), p. 138 f.; Also the references given in Camb. H. I., I. p. 149, footnote 1 ; and in *Vedic India*, p. 157 f.;

[4] Ś. B. II. i. 2-3 :—

'एता ह वै प्राच्यो दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ते।'

[5] Baudhāyana, as quoted in ABI., V. (1926) p. 7 f.; :—

'कृत्तिकाः खल्विमां प्राचीं न जहन्ति तासां दर्शनेनानुमापयेदित्येकां etc.।'

I may, therefore, partly agree with Dr. Keith that the astral positions in the Brāhmaṇas "cannot be taken seriously",[4] and that, strictly speaking, the interpretations put on those passages by Tilak, Jacobi, S. B. Dikshit, etc. "claim no scientific value."[4] Some astral calculations may be correct, in spite of Dr. Keith's scepticism; but they need not necessarily prove the supposed antiquity of the texts. The tradition persists, though the position of stars changes. Nor is this peculiar to India. For, the Iranian Mithra, borrowed over by Romans, was, in comparatively modern age, "represented in sculpture as thrusting his dagger into the neck of the mystic bull" or as standing on a bull he had thrown down. And this again is supposed to be a reference to "the occurrence, at a remote date of the spring equinox during the time the sun was in conjunction with the constellation Taurus."[5]

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[1] Dikshit, p. 128; *Spirits of the Corn, etc.*, 48:—"Hesiod bids the husbandman put the sickle to the corn at the morning rising of the Pleiades".

[2] ERE. II. 888. Gilgamesh seems to be depicted on some Mohenjo-daro seals. Mackay, *Further Excavations*, I. 337; 657; seal nos. 75, 86, 122 and 454. ASI-AR. 1930-34, Vol. I. p. 63; II. pl. xxiii. 1; J. Amer. Ori. Soc., Dec. 1939, Suppl., p. 41;

[3] Langdon, p. 137-138.

[4] Camb. H. I., I. p. 148.

[5] Plunket, *Ancient Calendars and Constellations*, p. 64; D. C. A., p. 396-397. JASB. 1932, p. 35.

We have already referred to a Vedic passage,[1] wherein seven sisters are mentioned as seven cows, and the Sun is identified with Agni. In the same passage, mention is also made of seven deities which seem to preside over the solar wheel. In this connexion, I beg to quote the following passage from Langdon, which in spite of the suggestion contained in it to the contrary may add more confirmation to my hypothesis that the Indians have borrowed their Kṛittikās from the Sumero-Chaldæans. "The seven gods, who occupy an important place in Babylonian and Assyrian religion, do not appear to belong to original Sumerian mythology. By origin, they are deified weapons of war, of the Sun-gods Ninurta and Nergal,[2] and their number 'seven' seems to have resulted, in later times, from their identification with the seven Pleiades ...They are addressed in the singular as *one* deity, and identified with the Fire-god."[3]

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[1] RV. I. 164. 2–3 = AV. IX. ix. 2–3. Note that Vishṇu is Yajña or its god according to many Brāhmaṇa passages ; but in the very first Ṛik of the Ṛig-veda, Agni is called Yajñasya deva.

[2] Nergal was known also as Gira, Irra, Ira (Langdon, p. 137–138). He was the 'King of all inhabitations'. Note that in the Ṛig-veda, Agni is called Iḷa especially in the Āprī-sūktas (RV. I. 13. 4 ; I. 142. 4 ; I. 188. 3 ; II. 3. 3 ; etc.). Ninurta was one of the supreme trinity of the Sumerian mythology, representing the spring or morning sun, according to Langdon, p. 115 f. See Appendix E.

[3] Langdon, l. c., p. 146–147. The T. B. (III. i. 4. 1) mentions the names of the seven Pleiades as follows :—Ambā, Dulā, Nitatnī, Abhrayantī, Meghayantī, Varshayantī, and Chupuṇikā.

'स एतमग्नये कृत्तिकाभ्यः पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालं निरवपत्। ततो वै सोऽन्नादो देवानामभवत्। अग्निर्वै देवानामन्नादः।...अग्नये स्वाहा कृत्तिकाभ्यः स्वाहा । अम्बायै स्वाहा दुलायै स्वाहा। नितत्न्यै स्वाहाभ्रयन्त्यै स्वाहा। मेघयन्त्यै स्वाहा वर्षयन्त्यै स्वाहा। चुपुणिकायै स्वाहेति।'

Of these, the first is akin to Ammā, while the second reminds me of Nindulla, a 'god of wells' of the Chaldæans (Langdon, l. c., p. 201–202). Nitatnī reminds me of some Sumerian or ancient Semitic deities like Anunit (= Innini, Nininni, or Ninanna, etc.), Ninutzalli, wife of Ninurta, Nintud, a goddess of child-birth (Langdon, p. 100 ; 91 ; etc.), Nintil, a goddess of diseases etc. (Ibid. p. 201–202). Note that in the AV. (VI. 136. 1), she has been referred to as a plant-goddess :—

'देवी देव्यामधि जाता पृथिव्यामस्योषधे। तां त्वा नितत्नि केशेभ्यो दृंहणाय खनामसि॥'

Incidentally, in the Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chaṇḍikā, referred to as 'the great goddess', Prakṛiti, Dhātrī, Jyotsnā (= Moon-light), Svarvāṇī (Speech Divine), Durgā, etc , is also called Nirṛiti (Parg.'s tr., p. 489–90). We are also reminded of Ilinā, mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa as a daughter of Yama(= Kāla or Mahākāla). A daughter of the Father God can be none else but the Mother Goddess :—

'इलिना तु यमस्यासीत्कन्या याजनयत्सुतान्। ब्रह्मवादपराक्रान्तांश्छुभदा त्विलिना ह्यभूत्॥'

—Matsya P., 49. 9.

Abhrayantī reminds me of Aphrodīte, the Greek 'goddess of storm and lightning', whc "appears as *Aphro-geneia*, the 'foam-born'." Compare Abhrajanyā. The Vedas know the word jenyā as well as janyā. Sāśvata-kośa (st. 156) equates Kālī with a 'fresh cloud' (nava megha). Also cf. 'ताडका चलकपालकुण्डला कालिकेव निबिडा बलाकिनी।' Raghu. XI. 15. On this, Mallinātha quotes Viśva :—

'कालिका योगिनीभेदे कार्ष्ण्ये गौर्यां घनावलौ।'

Abhrayantī, Meghayantī, Varshayantī are only forms of Jyotishmatī or Jyotirmayī Aditi :—"ज्योतिष्मतीमदितिं धारयात्क्षितिं etc. "—RV. I. 136. 3.

We have thus proved the original identity of the Vedic Sun-god and Agni. We have also referred to the identity of Agni and Rudra. We shall make the latter certain before we proceed any further; for though here we make a digression, this is very necessary for understanding the evolution of Hindu mythology. It has been already granted by some that the Sun may be either a father god or a mother goddess. Vishṇu cult has evolved from the Ṛigvedic Sun-worship, and Śaivism and Śaktism directly refer to 'Father and Mother' divinities. If so, all the Hindu mythology will have to be traced to the cult of Father God and Mother Goddess.

Elsewhere,[1] I have drawn attention to the fact that Jvāleśvara or Jāleśvara, the Fire-god of Māhishmatī, is identified in many Purāṇas with Lord Śiva. I have shown that the consort of this Jvāleśvara-Śiva is mentioned as Svāhā, whose name appears in at least two Purāṇas,[2] in the list of (Pīṭhastha—) Devīs. Any way, Kārtikeya, a son of Śiva, according to the Purāṇas, is not only a son of the Kṛittikās or the Pleiades, but he is also called Agni-bhū or Āgneya or Pāvaki (a son of the Fire-god), in the Sanskrit literature. And in the Purāṇas, myths are narrated in explanation of this epithet. His epithet Bāhuleya can also be explained with reference to a name of Agni, viz., Bahula, which shows that he was regarded as the male counterpart of Bahulās[3] or Kṛittikās. This connection between the Kṛittikās and Agni is to be traced throughout the Brāhmaṇa texts.[4] It is ordained in them that directly upon entering married life, Agnyādhāna (corresponding to, or rather representing Garbhādhāna or consumation ceremony) should be undertaken under the Pleiades ; for, it is averred, " the Pleiades are surely the constellation of Fire."[1] Their presiding deity is Agni.[2] Agnyādhāna

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[1] Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., 3rd session, 1939, p. 139-141.

[2] Ibid. p. 141; Padma P., V. 17. 206 = Matsya P., 13. 42.

[3] Bahulā is a name of Śakti according to Tantra-Chūḍāmaṇi (cf. Vāchaspatya III. p. 3038f. Nāgarī ed.).

[4] T. S., I. i. 2. 1:—

'कृत्तिकास्वग्निमादधीत । एतद्वा अग्नेर्नक्षत्रम् । यत्कृत्तिकाः स्वायामेवैनं देवतायामाधाय । ब्रह्मवर्चसी भवति । मुखं वा एतन्नक्षत्राणाम् । यत्कृत्तिकाः । '

For Agnyādhāna, read T. B., I. i. 9. 1 f.:—

'शमीगर्भादग्निं मन्थति । एषा वा अग्नेर्यज्ञीया तनूः । तामेवास्मै जनयति ।...अस्थि वा एतत् । यत्समिधः । एतद्रेतः । यदाज्यम् । यदाज्येन समिधोऽभ्यज्यादधाति । अस्थ्येव तद्रेतसि दधाति ॥ तिस्र आदधाति मिथुनत्वाय । इयतीर्भवति । प्रजापतिना यज्ञमुखेन संमिताः । इयतीर्भवन्ति । यज्ञपरुषा संमिताः । इयतीर्भवन्ति । एतावद्वै पुरुषे वीर्यम् । वीर्यसंमिताः ॥ आर्द्राभवन्ति । आर्द्रमिव हि रेतः सिच्यते । चित्रियस्याश्वत्थस्यादधाति । ...तस्मिन्नुपव्युषमरणी निष्टपेत् ॥ यथर्षभाय वाशितान्याविच्छायति । तादृगेव तत् । '

This passage, being excessively frank in obscenity, is untranslatable; but it makes clear the primitive philosophy in the Brāhmaṇas; cp. also AV. VI. 11. 1:—

'शमीमश्वत्थ आरूढः' etc.

Ś. B., II. i. 2. 1; II. i. 2. 5; Ārcha-jyotisha 25; JASB. 1932, p. 20.

Ś. B., XI. v. 1, 15 :—‘ते होचुः । परोऽक्षमिव वाऽएतदाश्वत्थीमेवोत्तरारणिं कुरुष्व शमीमयीमधरारणि ँस यस्ततोऽग्निर्जनिता सऽएव भवितेति ।’.

T. S., I. v. 1. 1 ; III. i. 1. 1 ; etc.

Agnyādhāna ceremony was no doubt, connected with agricultural operations. We learn from Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn, etc.*, i. p. 307 f., that the Pleiades play "an important part in the calendar of primitive peoples, both in the northern and in the southern hemisphere," and that their agricultural operations are generally timed by the heliacal rising or setting of the constellation. "Amongst the Lengua Indians of Paraguay at the present day the rising of the Pleiades is connected with the beginning of spring, and feasts are held as this time, generally of a markedly immoral charactar" (Frazer, *Spirits etc.*, i. 309). The morning rising of the Fleiades was the time of the corn-reaping in Greece, just as their autumnal setting was that of ploughing.

[1] Agnyādhāna was also performed in connection with Darśa and Pūrnamāsa sacrifices offered respectively to Sinīvālī and Rākā, two lunar forms of the Divine Mother. It plays an important part in Paśu and Soma yāgas too. Kāṭhaka and Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitās, Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, etc. instruct that the Agnyādhāna ceremony may also be performed under the constellations of Rohiṇī (= Aldebaran) Phalgunī, etc. Rohiṇī is identified with the daughter of Prajāpati, who assumed the form of Rohit, at the time of her rape (AB. XIII. 9, quoted already ; TB. I. i. 10 ; etc.). According to Kauṭilya (Arthaśāstra, XIV. i, p. 413), Agnyādhāna should be performed under Kṛittikā or Bharaṇī when Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvatī, etc. should be adored. The Pāraskara-gṛihya-sūtra, I. iv. 4, ordains that the sacrificial fire pertaining to marriages should, in the opinion of some, be produced from the drill :—

‘ निर्मन्थ्यमेके विवाहे । ’

This is explained by the commentator as :—

‘ एके आचार्याः विवाहे पाणिग्रहे निर्मन्थ्यमारणेयमग्निं वैवाहिक-होमाधिकरणमिच्छन्ति । ’

I quote an interesting passage which throws some rational light on the whole of Agnyādhāna ceremony as well as on the injunctions of Pāraskara :—"A mode of producing fire early adopted and widely prevalent even yet among savage races is that of the drill. Fire is made by rapidly rotating a hard wood upright upon a piece of softer wood lying on the ground and held firmly in its position by the foot. The action is suggestive, and the result so analogous to life and so mysterious, that it need not be wondered at that the two sticks have been usually called the male and the female sticks respectively, and their use has universally received a sexual interpretation. As the author of the anonymous *Essay*......points out, the use of the firedrill long survived in Europe......It is still used by many peoples when sacred fire is necessary for ritual purposes" (ERE. IX. 819, col. i). In India the lower stick is made of Śamī and the upper one of the Aśvattha (sacred to the Sun and hence to Agni,—or vice verse) ; cf. AV. VI. 11. 1 ; etc.

[2] T. B., I. v. 1 :—‘अग्ने कृत्तिकाः ।’ T. S., IV. iv. 10 :—‘कृत्तिकानक्षत्रमग्निर्देवता ।’

" The Aztecs appear to have attached great importance to the Pleiades,...The ceremony consisted in kindling a sacred new fire on the breast of a human victim...." Frazer, *Spirits etc.*, i. p. 310. Read the interesting chapter on the Fire-drill in Frazer, *Magic Art* etc., ii. p. 207 ; also p. 248 f.

was achieved by means of the two sticks of a Fire-drill, one with a hole and the other pointed, the latter being inserted into the hole and twirled rapidly.[1] Agni comprises[2] all the divinities ; and is 'Master of food' (Anna-pati),[3]—a distinctive title of the Creator. He is associated with Iḷā as her counterpart, and is often called Iḷa (=Iḍa), especially in the Āprī-sūktas. But, perhaps, Yahva is his most common epithet,[4] and his flames are said to be seven in number.[5] Now, we learn that the name Jehoveh (with whom Yahva is certainly identical) was spelt by the Hebrew Kabbalists by four hieroglyphic signs : Iod (symbolising male priciple and resembling the Egyptian symbol for father or creator, which was an erect phallus ;[6] cf. Iḍa), He (the feminine principle in nature), Vau or Vaf (their fruitful union), and He. Thus Jehoveh[7] is supposed to be a male deity, combining in himself also the supreme female principle : Yahva combines in himself the Yahvīs or flames, and Śiva becomes unified with Ambikā [the Mother] (whom he first rejected) in his form Ardhanārī-naṭeśvara. The Heaven Father Uranus unites with his mother consort, the Earth-goddess Gaia, in an eternal embrace ; and it is probably Hermes and Aphrodite who combine in the form of Hermaphroditus, (whom Grecian mythology represents as their son born on Mt. Ida, and as indissolubly united with a nymph whom he first rejected).[8] Rejection only serves to bring the two nearer.

Among the Latins, the "maternal aspect of fire was...represented by mother Vesta" (*The Magic Art* etc., ii. 234), who had for her symbol the fire perpectually burning on her altar. Her male counterpart, sometimes regarded as her father, was none but Jupiter, the god of the oak. In accordance with the common practice of representing the God and the Goddess in human form in the garb of a priest and a priestess, they would often be identified with the Flamen Dialis and his wife the Flaminica (< 'flare' *to blow up*) to whom the task of kindling the holy fire of oak was assigned. (*The Magic Art*, etc., ii. 235). The same people seem to be called Brahman and Brāhmaṇī in India.

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1. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, II. 208.
2. 'अग्निर्वै सर्वा देवताः ।'—A. B., I. i; Ś. B., I. vi, 2. 8; III. i. 3. 1; VI. i. 2. 28; Tāndya B., IX. iv. 5; XVIII. i. 8; also cf. A. B., II. iii; T. B., I. iv. 4. 10; etc.
3. T. B., II. v. 7. 3; etc.; A. B., II. 5.
4. RV. III. 2. 9; III. 3. 8: III. 5. 5, 9; III. 28. 4; VII. 8. 2; X. 11. 1; X. 110. 3; etc.
5. RV. I. 59. 4; I. 71. 7; I. 72. 8; II. 35. 9; II. 35. 14; III. 1. 49; etc.
6. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 41 f; 158 f.
7. Traces of this name are found in early Babylonian documents.
8. D. C. A., p. 286. SCD. 257.

We have seen that the Vedi or the sacred altar is identical with the Earth and we shall see later how bull is identical with the chief male deities in diverse theological systems. But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa declares that the Vedi is a 'female', while Agni is 'bull' (of hers),[1] thus making Agni the male counterpart of the Goddess.

Another passage, occurring in the Kṛishṇa Yajurveda,[2] makes Earth a sacrificial altar of gods, supporting on her surface Agni Annāda. If Rudra is a brother-consort of Ambikā,[3] Agni is said to be a violator of his sister.[4] But Rudra is Kāla, Mahākāla, or Yama[5] also. Indian tradition is quite consistent in this identification, so that there is a Sanskrit Subhāshita which makes Kāla a consort of Kālī ;[6] and many passages, in the Jaiminīya Upanishad, Purāṇas, etc., identify Agni with Mṛityu.[7] In virtue of this relation, therefore, Yamī must covet the embrace of Yama,[8] and the latter, inspite of his protestations, must yield ;[9]—and then Agni is to be identified with Yama, and the Earth, especially the altar, with Yamī.[10] Iranian tradition knows Yima and Yimeh as the first living couple, and as brother and sister.[11] Both Yama and Agni are referred to as residing in trees.

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1. Ś. B. II. ii. 5. 15 :—योषा वै वेदिर्वृषाग्निः ।
2. YV. III. 5 :— 'तस्यास्ते पृथिवि देवयजनि पृष्ठेऽग्निमन्नादमन्नाद्यायादधे ।'
3. 'एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तज्जुहस्व ।' YV. III. 57.
   TS. I. viii. 6. 1–2 ; III. i. 9. 4; TB. I. vi. 10. 4–5 ;
   Mait. Saṁ. I. 10. 4 ; I. 10. 20 ; Kāṭhaka Saṁ. IX. 7 ; XXXVI. K. etc.
   'अम्बिका हि वै नाम अस्य स्वसा' ŚB. II. vi. 2. 9.
4. RV. X. 3. 3 :— भद्रो भद्रया सचमान आगात्स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात् ।
   सुप्रकेतैर्द्युभिरग्निर्वितिष्ठन् रुशद्भिर्वर्णैरभि राममस्थात् ॥
RV. VII. 9. 1 :—'अबोधि जार उषस्सामुपस्थाद्धोता मन्द्रः कवितमः पावकः ।'
5. 'महाकाले यमे मृत्यौ कालः समयकृष्णयोः ।' —Śāśvata-koṣa, st. 267.
   'मन्युर्मनुमहिनसो महान् शिव ऋतुध्वजः ।
   उग्ररेता भवः कालो वामदेवो धृतव्रतः ॥' —Bhāgavata P., III. 12. 12.
cf. Matsya P., 47. 137, 140, etc.
6. Cf. 'कालः काल्या सह बहुकलः क्रीडति प्राणसारैः ।'
7. Jaim. Up., I. 25. 8.
8. RV. X. 10. 1 f. ; especially read st. 7 (=AV. XVIII. 1. 1 f. ; esp. st. 8):—
   'यमस्य मा यम्यं काम आगन् त्समाने योनौ सहशेय्याय ।
   जायेव पत्ये तन्वं रिरिच्यां वि चिद्वृहेव रथ्येव चक्रा ॥' cf. Jaim. Up., I. 54.
9. RV. X. 13. 4 :— 'प्रियां यमस्तन्वं प्रारिरेचत् ।'
10. T. S., III. 8. iii. 8. 3 :— 'अग्निर्वाव यम इयं यमी ।' Sāyaṇa explains this as:-
   'यमस्म बलिना चरामीत्यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽभिधीयमानो यमोऽग्निरेव तस्य होमाधारत्वेन नियतत्वात् । इयं वेदिरूपा भूमिर्यमी ।'
11. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, I. 527.

In one place, instead of saying that 'Agni is born', a Ṛigvedic poet says that 'Yama is born'; and as a deity of virility, here he is identified with life-matter itself, and is called a violater of virgins and a husband of married women.[1] Nirukta also identifies Yama with Agni, and says[2] that this description of Yama is in accordance with the Vedic tradition (Nigama) that Agni is the third husband of every damsel.[3] No damsel need be afraid of Yama-Agni; for Agni is, in truth, the same as Kāma (God of love), the mightest of all gods.[4] Undoubtedly Agni-Rudra is entitled, in his capacity as a phallic god to confer blessings on women by union with them. "The sacred marriage was common to several cults in Grecee ... women were shut into the temple, to stand in the same sexual relation to him (= the male god), in which, according to tradition, Cassandra stood to Appollo."[5] "At Roman marriages the bride was required to sit upon the image of Priapus,"[6] a phallic divinity. About Mutunus who was often identified with Priapus, the same thing is told by Lactance and Arnobius.[7] "If we may trust an allusion by Arnobius ... women already married sometimes performed the same rite. In India, about Pondicherry, in Canara, and the neighbourhood of Goa, brides are reported actually to sacrifice their virginity to a similar idol of Śiva."[8] References to the custom of maidens offering their modesty to Bhaga-Rudra are perhaps to be found even in Brāhmaṇa texts.[9] According to a Latin tradition, a hand-maid to the daughter of the last Alban king, Numiter, becomes the mother of Romulus and Remus through divine impregnation by Fire. There should be no doubt, therefore, as to the phallic character of Agni.

The 'seven rays' of the Sun-god correspond to the seven flames of Agni who is also called Sapta-raśmi.[10] They are referred to at times as seven tongues of Agni[1] and are named in the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, Kālī, Karālī Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Spulaṅginī, and Viśvaruchī.[2] Many of these appear, in later works, as names of the Mighty Mother, and there can be no denying that these 'tongues' correspond to the seven sisters or Sapta Mātṛikās, with whom we are now well familiar. I believe, therefore, that Agni-pūjā is by itself a sufficient indication of the fact that Rudra was the greatest god of the Vedic Aryan, and that he was certainly not a god lately introduced in the Vedic pantheon and therefore foreign to the Vedic Aryan's original religious beliefs.

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[1] RV. I. 66, 8 :—'यमो ह जातो यमो जनित्वं जारः कनीनां पतिर्जनीनाम् ।'

[2] Nirukta, X. 20. 2; X. 21. 1.

[3] Nirukta, X. 21. 1 :—"तृतीयो अग्निष्टे पतिः" इत्यपि निगमो भवति। Cf. RV. X. 85. 40. Read here *The Magic Art*, II. 229f.

[4] K. B., XIX. 2 :—'अग्निर्वै कामो देवनामीश्वरः ।'

Read in full sūktas like the following :—"कामस्तदग्रे समवर्तत मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत् ।" —AV. XIX. 52. 1. f. ; cf. AV. IX. 2.1. f., esp. IX. 2. 19.

[5] ERE. XII. 139 f.

[6] ERE. IX. 820, i ; Cf. St. Augustin in *Civic Dei*, VI. 9.

[7] *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 99.

[8] ERE. IX. 820. i.

[9] 'तदु हापि कुमार्यः परीयुः । भगस्य भजामहाऽइति या ह वै सा रुद्रस्य स्वसाम्बिका नाम सा ह वै भगस्येष्टे तस्मादु हापि कुमार्यः परीयुर्भगस्य भजामहाऽइति ।' ŚB. II. vi. 2. 13.

[10] RV. I. 146. 1 ; cf. 'आ यस्मिन् त्सप्त रश्मयस्तता यज्ञस्य नेतरि ।' —RV. II. 5:2.

There are numerous passages which identify Agni with Rudra.[3] In one of them, Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani (= 'thunderbolt'), Bhava, Mahādeva, and Iśāna are said to be eight rūpas or forms of Agni, and Kumāra, the ninth.[4] Undoubtedly, here is the origin of the epithet Ashṭamūrti of Śiva given in the Amara-kośa, or of the eight 'tanus' of that deity mentioned by Kālidāsa in the invocatory verses at the beginning of Śākuntala[5] and Mālavikāgnimitra.[6] Kālidāsa, no doubt, recognizes the sacrificial Fire as a form of Śiva,[7] just as the Ṛigveda recognizes Mahān-devaḥ (Mahā-

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Read the following description of Kāla, where he appears as a Sapta-raśmi horse (indentical with the Sun), the Supreme Creator of all things :—

'कालो अश्वो वहति सप्तरश्मिः सहस्राक्षो अजरो भूरिरेताः ।...सप्त चक्रान्वहति काल एष...पितासन्नभवत्पुत्र एषां तस्माद्वै नान्यत्परमस्ति तेजः ॥ कालो दिवमजनयत्काल इमाः पृथिवीरुत ।...कालो ह सर्वस्येश्वरो यः पितासीत्प्रजापतेः ॥ कालः प्रजा असृजत कालो अग्रे प्रजापतिम् । स्वयंभूः कश्यपः कालात्तपः कालादजायत ॥'

—AV. XIX. 53. 1 f. cf. AV. XIX. 54. 1 f.

[1] RV. III. 6. 2.

[2] Muṇḍaka Up., I. 2. 4 :—

'काली कराली च मनोजवा च सुलोहिता या च सुधूम्रवर्णा ।
स्फुलिङ्गिनी विश्वरुची च देवी लेलायमाना इति सप्त जिव्हाः ॥'

Read Sāyaṇa on RV. X. 5. 5. :—

'सप्त स्वसृररुषीर्वावशानो विद्वान्मध्व उज्जभारा दृशे कम् ।'

[3] RV. I. 27. 10 ; II. 1. 6 ; IV. 3. 1 ; V. 3. 3 ; Ś. B., V. ii. 4. 13 ; V. iii. 1. 10 ; VI. i. 3. 10 ; T. B., I. i. 5. 8–9 ; I. i. 6. 6 ; I. i. 8. 4 ; I. iv. 3. 6 ; etc.

[4] Ś. B., VI. i. 3. 18. This epithet, Kumāra, explains his relation to the Mother Goddess Kumārī. Agni is the Senānī of gods (अग्निर्वै देवानां सेनानीः ।) according to a Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Durgā on Nirukta VII. 14. 4. Khaṇḍobā (=Skanda) as well as Hara-Mahādeva are war-gods of the *Marathas*. Originally these deities were identical. Later on, Skanda-Kumāra Senānī became a son of Rudra, while the name Agni passes out of court. In RV. X. 135. 1-5, Yama, as identical with Āditya (Read in this connexion Nirukta XII. 29. 1), is called Kumāra.

[5] Yā sṛishṭiḥ srashṭur-ādyā, vahati vidhihutaṁ yā haviḥ, etc.

[6] Ekaiśvarya-sthito=pi praṇata-bahu-phalo etc.

[7] Kumāra-saṁbhava, I. 57 :—

'तत्राग्निमाधाय समित्समिद्धं स्वमेव मूर्त्यन्तरमष्टमूर्तिः ।'

Also cf. the invocatory verse in Śākuntala quoted above.

deva) as a name of Agni.[1] The Atharvaveda also knows this tradition, since it refers to Agni-Ugra "the Father of gods" as being eight-fold, identifying him with the wind-god Mātariśvan.[2] These eight forms of Agni-Rudra correspond to the eight *yonis* of Aditi, referred to in another verse of the same Veda.[3]

So we arrive at the equation Sūrya = Agni = Rudra. If, then, the Purāṇic traditions regarding the identity not only of Rudra-Maheśvara and Agni, but also that of Śiva and Vishṇu be well-founded, we need not be surprised if Pārvatī and Ramā-Śrī-Lakshmī are only forms of the same Mother Goddess.[4] We have seen that according to Indian tradition Śiva-Rudra was Bhṛigu-nātha, while Ramā, Loka-mātā, or Mā was Bhārgavī, and that Mā was a name of the Phrygian mother goddess who is to be ultimately traced to Egyptian Maāt. Similarly we have noticed that Vishṇu was looked upon as the husband of Pṛithivī, as also her son; in this latter capacity, he resembles the Kumāra form of Śiva, and Ra form of Osiris. If the Earth is Viśvambharā, Vishṇu is Viśvambhara.[5]

Mother Earth's connection with good luck and prosperity :— Lakshmī-Śrī undoubtedly signifies Bhagā, the Earth Goddess, as a goddess of fortune. Indeed, the Earth is identified with Śrī in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[6] And if she represents the prosperity of the earth, no doubt, in terracotta she should be depicted in clothes, just as Ambikā should be nude. These are only two forms of the same goddess, for both are divinities of prosperity. Pārvatī is called Śivā or Śaṅkarī in many Purāṇas etc. and Sarva-maṅgalā in the Amara-kośa.[7] All good luck (maṅgala) is essentially connected with the Mother Goddess, and this may be borne out by the very etymology of the word Saubhāgya. Therefore, auspicious symbols like Svastika, etc. were connected with her (Svastika itself means 'auspicious') as with Lakshmī. Ambābāi of Kolhapur is still called Mahā-Lakshmī; and this is sanctioned by the inclusion of Lakshmī or Mahā-Lakshmī among the epithets of Durgā in the Purāṇas.[8]

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[1] RV., V. 1. 2;—'अबोधि होता यजथाय देवानूर्द्धो अग्निः सुमनाः प्रातरस्थात्।
समिद्धस्य रुशददर्शि पाजो महान्देवस्तमसो निरमोचि॥'

[2] AV., XIII. 19 :—'अष्टधा युक्तो वहति वह्निरुग्रः पिता देवानां जनिता मतीनाम्।
ऋतस्य तन्तुं मनसा मिमानः सर्वा दिशः पवते मातरिश्वा॥'

[3] 'अष्टयोनिरदितिः।' AV. VIII. 9. 21.

[4] 'वाग्भूगौर्यादिभेदैर्विदुरिह मुनयो यां...वन्दे...इन्दिरां ताम्।'
Kāvyamāla (2nd ed.) P. 4.

[5] Amara-kośa, st. 23.

[6] A. B., VIII. 5.

[7] Amara-kośa, st. 42; Śāśvata-kośa, st. 1.

[8] Matsya P., 14. 41 = Padma P., V. 17. 205 :—'करवीरे महालक्ष्मीः।'

Again, the Goddess Śrī-Lakshmī is depicted at times—(witness, for instance, her image in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, assigned by V. S. Agrawala to c. 1st cent. A. D.), as "pressing her breast with the left hand". Mr. Agrawala notes that the "motif of the female figure pressing her breast, the source of all human sustenance, possesed a symbolic meaning".[1] Figurines of the Mother Goddess pressing or supporting her breast are very common in Crete, etc.

Among the Syrians (Aramæans), Astarte was recognized as "the goddess of good luck, and was called Gad"[2] (=the goddess of fortune). She was known to Hebrew writers and was worsipped among the Canaanites 'at a very early date'.[3] Among the Greeks, Tychē "one of the mightiest and most commonly named" of later Greek divinities, was "the goddess of chance" and "of prosperity",[4] and she was generally represented with a cornucopia which is emblematic of fertility. She had also other attributes, chiefly "as emblems of her variability". She is without doubt identical with Lakshmī, who is notoriously fickle; and she is rightly identified with the Roman Fortuna.[5]

There is an interesting word, to which I should draw attention of the reader in this connection. That word is Menā. Menā is said to be the mother of Umā, and the daughter of Mt. Meru.[6] Undoubtedly she was a Kumārī-Kanyā worshipped on the mountain. Now among the titles of Ishtar, appear Manāt or Manāwatu (Nabatian) Meni (Hebrew), Minu-anni or Minu-ullu, Manātun, etc.[7] Meni according to the Jews was identical with Venus.[8] We are informed elsewhere that the "heathens have generally worshipped the moon, under the names of Queen of heaven, Venus Urania, Succoth-benoth (=compare the latter part of this name with the name Vinatā of the Indian Goddess), Ashtaroth Diana, Hecate, or perhaps Meni, &c.''.[1] It is legitimate to note in this connection words for 'moon' in different languages of the West :— Gr. *Μήνη* ; Lat. Mena; Teut. or Goth. *Mena*; Lith. *Menu* ; Phrygian *Men*, Eng. *Moon*; G. *Mond*; etc. "Mena in the *Indigimenta* is connected with the special goddess of menstruation.''[2] Not only Menā, but Meni also is given among the names of Aditi-Vāk in the Nighaṇṭu quoted by Yāska.[3] We shall later show in details how the Celestial Goddess was represented, as in Egypt (cf. Isis, Hathor etc.), as a cow in the mythology of most of the ancient civilisations. We may note here that in the Vedas the sacred cow (Brahma-gavī) is frequently called Meni.[4] To her human sacrifices seem to be offered, for she is terrible and is to be pacified. She is the Earth to one who knows the Ultimate Principle (Brahma). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa probably refers to the altar (Vedi) as Yajna-Meni.[5]

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[1] Agrawala, *A short Guide-Book to the Arch. Sect. of the Prov. Mus., Lucknow*, p. 14; fig. 8.

[2] Maspero, p. 157–158.

[3] Ibid. p. 158.

[4] D. C. A., p. 662.

[5] Ibid. p. 240. SCD. 218.

[6] Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla-kāṇḍa, 35. 14–15 :—

'या मेरुदुहिता राम तयोर्माता सुमध्यमा ।
नाम्ना मेना मनोज्ञा वै पत्नी हिमवतः प्रिया ॥
तस्यां गङ्गेयमभवज्ज्येष्ठा हिमवतः सुता ।
उमा नाम द्वितीयाऽभूत्कन्या तस्यैव राघव ॥'

[7] Langdon, p. 20–21.

[8] J. E., II. 246, col. ii. The Bible, Isaiah 65. 11, refers to filling the cup of wine unto Meni, who seems to represent the goddess of destiny, which she undoubtedly was among the Babylonians, *The Univ, Bible Dict*, p. 312.

Rhea was a goddess of agricultural prosperity and social welfare among the Greeks. She was their mother goddess. She reminds me of the Sanskrit word Rai or Rayi which means 'wealth', or 'waters', according to the Nirukta. This brings us to *Revatī*, the last constellation in Indian stronomy (excluding, of course, Abhijit), which is to be etymologically derived from the same word. Revatī thus etymologically stands for the goddess of wealth, Lakshmī, whose incarnation she can be easily represented in mythology.

She is invoked in the Ṛigveda[6] along with Mitra and Varuṇa, just as (in the same verse) Aditi is invoked with Indra and Agni.

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[1] Beeton, p. 169.

[2] The word *menstruation* itself retains connection between Menā and moon. etc. Max Müller, Bibl. of Words, p. 193 ; EB. XVII. 851 ; For Phrygian Men and Hittite Men or Menes vide resp. Childe, p. 63 ; JRAS. 1889. 567.

[3] Nirukta, II. 23. 1.

[4] AV. XII. 5. 12 f. :—
'सैषा भीमा ब्रह्मगवी...सर्वाण्यस्यां घोराणि...सर्वाण्यस्यां क्रूराणि सर्वे पुरुषवधाः ॥१४॥...मेनिः शतवधा हि सा ब्रह्मज्यस्य क्षितिर्हि सा ॥१६॥... मेनिर्दुह्यमाना शीर्षक्तिर्दुग्धा ॥२३॥...तस्याः आहननं कृत्या मेनिराशसनं वलग ऊबध्यम् ॥३९॥...मेनिः शरव्या भवाघादघविषा भव ॥५९॥'
RV. X. 27. 11 seems to represent her as Indra's daughter, whom he marries:—
'यस्यानक्षा दुहिता जात्वास कस्ताँ विद्वाँ अभिमन्याते अन्धाम् ।
कतरो मेनिं प्रति तं मुच्याते य ईं वहाते य ईं वावरेयात् ॥' contra Sāyaṇa.

[5] ŚB. XI. ii. 7. 23 f.

[6] RV. V. 51. 14 :—
'स्वस्ति मित्रावरुणा स्वस्ति पथ्ये रेवति ।
स्वस्ति न इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च स्वस्ति नो अदिते कृधि ॥'
For Rhea = Agdistis = Aditi, vide ut supra, p. 68.

In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, Revatī is identified with Gāyatrī[1] and her stars are invoked as 'Mātaraḥ' (Mothers).[2] This is explained by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where her stars are said to be identical with all the goddesses. She is identified with Vāk,[3] and the animals are said to belong to her.[4] All these facts definitely go to prove that Revatī was looked upon as a form of the Mother Goddess. H. H. Wilson says that Revatī is one of the Mātṛis, and includes the star and the cow (both of them forms of the Goddess) among her meanings.[5] The Viśva-kośa of N. N. Vasu agrees with Wilson, and includes in addition Durgā as a meaning! Monier-Williams[6] takes her for a demoness "presiding over a particular disease". No doubt, Rākshasī is only a terrific aspect of the Goddess, for she is Rātri or Kālarātri, the dark demoness of night and of deadly destruction.[7] Such a Rākshasī was worshipped by the Madras or Vāhīkas of Śākala (Sialkot) according to the Karṇa-parva,[8] and by the Magadhas of Girivraja according to the Sabhāparva.[9]

The Goddess of Girivraja, known as Jarā, was in a way mother of Jarāsandha, who, mythical, as he is, is supposed to have owed his life to her after being still-born like a Mārtaṇḍa. I suspect that in a verse in the Raghuvaṁśa, the epithets, 'having the hue of a night of the dark fortnight', 'with her ear-pendants, made of skulls, swinging', etc. are common to both Tāḍakā and Kālikā.[1] By the way, corresponding to Indian Ratri, there is the Greek Goddess,—not so frightful—by name Nox or Nyx (cf. Skt. Naktam), the sister-consort of Erebus (the lower-world of darkness) and mother of Æther (cf. Antariksha ; = Air or Sky) and Hemera (Day). And though a benevolent mother of all things, she is yet a daughter of Chaos. She is one of most ancient of Greek goddesses and is known to Hesiod, the earliest known epic poet of Greece barring Homer. The following litany about her is found in the Orphean Fragments :—" I will sing of Night, the genitor of Gods and men : night, the genesis of all things."

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[1] Tāṇḍya B., XVI. v. 19; XVI. v. 27; etc.

[2] Ibid. XIII. ix. 17.

[3] Ś. B., III. viii. 1. 12.

[4] Tāṇḍya B., XIII. vii. 3; XIII. ix. 25; (cp. XIII. x. 11).

[5] *Sanskrit English Dictionary.*

[6] *Sanskrit English Dictionary.*

[7] Matsya P. 154. 82 f. :—

'त्वं कालरात्रिर्निःशेषभुवनावलिनाशिनी ॥
प्रियकण्ठग्रहानन्ददायिनी त्वं विभावरी ।'

Also vide the descripnion of Kālarātrī as one of the Navadurgās :—

"एकवेणी जपाकर्णपूरा नग्ना स्वरोत्थिता । लम्बोष्ठी कर्णिकाकर्णा तैलाभ्यक्तशरीरिणी ॥
वामपादोल्लसल्लोहलताकण्टकभूषणा । वर्धन्मूर्धध्वजा कृष्णा कालरात्रिर्भयङ्करी ॥"

cf. Agni P., 52. 1; 50. 32 f :—

'इयमेव महालक्ष्मीरुपविष्टा चर्तुमुखी ।
नृवाजिमहिषेभांश्च खादन्ती च करे स्थितान् ॥'

For the description of her terrific aspect read Agni P., ch. 132–141.

[8] Karṇaparva, 44. 24 f :—

वाहीकेष्वविनीतेषु प्रोच्यमानं निबोधत ॥
तत्र स्म राक्षसी गाति सदा कृष्णचतुर्दशीम् ।
नगरे शाकले स्फीते आहत्य निशि दुन्दुभिम् । etc.

[9] Sabhāparva, 18. 1 f :—

जरा नामास्मि भद्रं ते राक्षसी कामरूपिणी ।
...गृहदेवीति नाम्ना वै पुरा सृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा ॥
दानवानां विनाशाय स्थापिता दिव्यरूपिणी ।
यो मां भक्त्या लिखेत्कुड्ये सुपुत्रां यौवनान्विताम् ।
गृहे तस्य भवेद्वृद्धिरन्यथा क्षयमाप्नुयात् ॥ etc.

To return to Revatī the demoness. Suśruta[2] and Bhāva-Prakāśa[3] describe her in identical terms, as a form of Devī wielding many weapons, decked with a variety of flowers, tall, black, and of frightful appearance, with her ear-pendants swinging and her nose dry, and having numerous progeny.[4]

As a name of Yoginī, Revatī occurs with Ilā, Tārā, etc., in the Agni P.,[5] which mentions her at another place, along with Karālī, etc., among the Mātṛis.[6] It also appears as a name of Chāmuṇḍā in that Purāṇa, together with other epithets of the Earth Goddess such as Śmaśāna-vāsinī, Bhujaṅga-veshṭitaśarīrā,[7] etc.; elsewhere[8] she is a sacred Śakti belonging to the Pīṭhas, along with Ilā, Tārā, etc.[9] The Matsya Purāṇa also mentions Revatī along with Aditi, Kālī, Mahākālī, etc., as a Mātṛi, created to drink the blood of Andhaka.[10] Among the names of Mātṛikā (the Great Mother) also, this name appears in the Rādhā-tantra together with Jvālā-mukhī,[1] Bhūmī, Kāla-rātri, Mahā-kālī, Ādyā-śakti, Bhūta-mātā, Sarasvatī, Kapardikā,[2] etc. Kathā-sarit-sāgara includes Revatī among the chief appellations of Chaṇḍikā which include Chaṇḍī, Chāmuṇḍā, Maṅgalā (cf. Sarva-maṅgalā), Jayā (cf. Nike), Ekānaṁśā, Durgā, Nārāyaṇī, Sarasvatī, Bhadra-kālī, Mahā-lakshmī, Gāyatrī, etc.[3] The Śāśvata-kośa assigns Revatī the first place among the Mātṛis.[4]

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[1] Raghu. XI. 15 :—
'ज्यानिनादमथ गृह्णती तयोः प्रादुरास बहुलक्षपाच्छविः ।
ताडका चलकपालकुण्डला कालिकेव निबिडा बलाकिनी ॥'

[2] Uttarakāṇḍa, ch. 31.

[3] Madhyama. pt. 4th.

[4] 'नानाशस्त्रधरा देवी चित्रमाल्यानुलेपना ।
चलत्कुण्डलिनी श्यामा रेवती ते प्रसीदतु ॥
...लम्बा कराला विनता तथैव बहुपुत्रिका ।
रेवती शुष्कनासा च तुभ्यं देवी प्रसीदतु ॥'
(as quoted in the *Viśva-kośa*, in Hindi, of Vasu, XIX. 740).

[5] Agni P., 52. 8.

[6] Ibid. 125.

[7] Cf. 125. 10.

[8] Ibid. 135. 13.

[9] Ibid. 146. 21.

[10] Matsya P., 179. 13.

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[1] Jvālāmukhī is, of course, only a terrific form of the Mountain Mother. A striking description of hers occurs in certain north Indian inscriptions; vide E. I., I. 192 f. :—

'पायाज्ज्वालामुखी वः.... । कल्पान्तक्षोभजृम्भारभभरससमारम्भसंरम्भभीमज्वाला-
मालाकरालाननलघुकवलीभूतभूतप्रपञ्चा ।। '

[2] Tārā-tantra, IV. 16–17.

[3] Kathā-sarit-sāgara, 53. 170–173 :—

नमस्ते चण्डि चामुण्डे मङ्गले त्रिपुरे जये ।।
एकानंशे शिवे दुर्गे नारायणि सरस्वति ।
भद्रकालि महालक्ष्मि सिद्धे रुरुविदारिणि ।।
त्वं गायत्री महाराज्ञी रेवती विन्ध्यवासिनी ।
उमा कात्यायनी च त्वं शर्वपर्वतवासिनी ।।
इत्यादिभिर्नामभिस्त्वां देवि etc. ।

[4] 'रेवत्याद्याश्च मातरः । ' Śāśvatakośa, st. 241. The fact that Rātri was since early times recognized as the patron-deity of Rayi (wealth), i. e. was identified with Revatī, seems to be vouchsafed by the following quotation from the Atharva-veda (III. 10. 2 f.) :—

'यां देवाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमुपायतीम् ।...
संवत्सरस्य प्रतिमां यां त्वा रात्र्युपास्महे ।
सा न आयुष्मतीं प्रजां रायस्पोषेण सं सृज ।।
...वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणाम् ।। etc. '

Indeed, just before giving the final printing order, I come across a passage in the same Veda, (XIX. 47. 4), wherein Rātri is addressed as Revatī.

CHAPTER XII

Bala-Rāma and Indra

So, Revatī is properly speaking identical with the Great Mother. The latter frequently appears as a Kumārī or a Kanyā, and her favourite resort may often be a hill or a mountain peak. Accordingly Revatī was worshipped on a hill named after her, Raivata-giri or Raivataka-giri. Naturally, the Purāṇas[1] represent her as a daughter of Raivata, a descendant of Ānarta, after whom the Ānarta country is said to be named. Unfortunately, scholars like Dr. Altekar[2] have sought to believe in this grand fiction relating to Revatī. But that view, if seriously entertained any more, would, I am afraid, overlook the parallels, that are to be easily found in the myths, which with equal credibility assert that Menā and Pārvatī are daughters of Meru and Himavat mountains respectively. There is no reason why we should believe in one particular myth more than in others. The natural conclusion should probably be that, if Revatī is a mother goddess of the hill Raivataka, her consort Revatī-Ramaṇa, Bala, Bala-deva, Bala-bhadra alias Bala-Rāma, who is also called Kāma-pāla (lit., 'the protector of love', i.e., 'the god of love'),[3] and is an incarnation of the sun-god Vishṇu, according to all Hindu traditions, must be a father god. Nay, he must be identical with the great sun-god Ba'al or Balder, whose worship was popularised in many distant countries by the Phœnicians, and who as a counterpart of the Mother Goddess was adored "under the form of a conical stone",[4] just as Sūrya was worshipped, especially in W. India, in the form of a liṅga.[1] Like the Egyptian sun-god Ra and the Grecian sun-god Apollo, Ba'al enjoyed virginity. He was "the upright, the powerful, the happy one, the opener that opens the door to the womb."[2] and was known as Ba'al-pehor, i.e. Lord of the vaginal orifice. The places, where Ba'al and his consort Astartes, Ashtaroth, Ishtar or Ashtoreth 'the abomination of the Zidonians' were worshipped, were frequently 'Bamoth', high places, or tops of mountains such as Lebanon, Carmel, Kasios, etc.[3]

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[1] Matsya P., 12. 22-24 :—

'आनर्तस्याभवत्पुत्रो रोचमानः प्रतापवान्।
आनर्तो नाम देशोऽभून्नगरी च कुशस्थली ॥
रोचमानस्य पुत्रोऽभूद्रेवो रैवत एव च।
कुकुद्मी चापरं नाम ज्येष्ठः पुत्रशतस्य च॥
रेवती तस्य सा कन्या भार्या रामस्य विश्रुता।'

For a slightly different account, see Vishṇu P., IV. i. 21.

[2] Ind. Hist. Cong. (3rd session, 1939), p. 37 f. (Presidential Address Archaic and Cultural Hist. Section),

[3] Amara-kośa, st. 25-26 :—

'बलभद्रः प्रलम्बघ्नो बलदेवोऽच्युताग्रजः।
रेवतीरमणो रामः कामपालो हलायुधः॥
नीलाम्बरो रौहिणेयस्तालाङ्को मुसली हली।
सङ्कर्षणः सीरपाणिः कालिन्दीभेदनो बलः॥'

[4] Das, p. 206.

The constellation of Revatī falls in Pūshan, a sun-god.[4] She is in fact called Paushṇa Nakshatra.[5] But this connection can be established in another way too. Water is one of the 'three purities' according to Epic mythology.[6] There are a number of passages in the Brāhmaṇas which equate Revatīs with 'Āpaḥ' or waters; and this tradition finds corroboration from the Saṁhitās themselves.[7]

We have already seen that Irā means *inter alia* water,[8] that Sarasvatī is only an aspect of Vāk-Irā,[9] and that Rayi also means water.[10] *En passant*, I may note that river-worship was prevalent even among the Homeric Greeks, as is vouchsafed by the following prayer of Juno :—"By Earth I swear, and yon broad Heav'n above,
And Stygian stream beneath".

The Saṁhitās invoke these waters as 'mothers' and 'goddesses' (mātaraḥ or ambayaḥ, and devīḥ[11]) and as associated with Sūrya,

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[1] Matsya P., 55. 5 f. :—
'सूर्यार्चा शिवलिङ्गे च प्रकुर्वन्पूजयेद्यतः ।
उमापते रवेर्वापि न भेदो दृश्यते क्वचित् ॥'
Crooke, *Religion etc.*, p. 30:—"Śiva, as a god of fertility is naturally associated with the sun, and at Valabhi,...there was peculiar blend of both these cults."

[2] *The Origin of the Cross*. p. 22, 19, etc.

[3] ERE. II. 291 ; Maspero, p. 159 ; cf. Joshua, XI. 17 ; XII. 7 ; etc. 1 Kings, XVIII. 19-20 ; 2 Kings, XXIII. 12-13.

[4] T.B., III. i. 4. 12. cf. TS. IV. 4. 10 :—'रेवती नक्षत्रं पूषा देवता ।'
T.B., I. v. 1 :—'पूष्णो रेवती ।'

[5] JASB. 1932. p. 22. This fact, together with another that Revatī is only a form of Durgā, explains the Purāṇic injunctions like the following :—
'रेवतीरविसंयुक्ता सप्तमी स्यान्महाफला ।
रेवती यत्र सप्तम्यामादित्यदिवसे भवेत् ।
अशोकैरर्चयेद्दुर्गाम् . . ।'
Purushārtha-chintāmaṇi (Ānandāśram ed.) p. 134.

[6] Hopkins, 3 f. [7] RV. X. 19. 1.

[8] Supra, p. 49. [9] Supra, p. 86. [10] Supra, p. 125.

[11] RV. I. 23. 16 f.=AV. I. 4. 1 f.:—
'अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिर्जामयो अध्वरीयताम् । पृञ्चतीर्मधुना पयः ॥
अमूर्या उप सूर्ये याभिर्वा सूर्यः सह । ता नो हिन्वन्त्वध्वरम् ॥ अपो देवीरुप ह्वये...॥'

Savitṛi, Vishṇu or Pūshan. Even according to Avestan tradition, 'Water' is the most sacred principle of Ahura Mazdāh, next to Fire, and is identical with spotlesss Anāhita, who gives all women successful labour in the birth of children. The whole of Ābān Yast (which means nothing more than hymns in praise of Āpaḥ) is devoted to her as identical with the sacred waters (Āpo Yazata), and rivers are mentioned in this connection. The 'Āpaḥ', also called in India 'Sindhavaḥ', are said to be seven in number:[1] they are thus equivalent of seven mothers, and they are said to bear *fœtus* (garbha) in the form of Agni (=Kumāra) or the Sun-god.[2] But these primeval waters are also identical with the Earth,[3] and can have their spouse in the Sun-god ; Revatī can have her spouse in Bala-Rāma.

By the way, it may be noted that the sapta Sindhavaḥ "are at the present day invoked as givers of fertility at marriage, and are represented by seven marks of vermilion impressed on the house-walls."[4] Crooke also notes that in the Central Provinces, rivers are still believed to be "tenanted by spirits known as the Sāt

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Cf. K. B., XII. 2 :— 'आपो वा अम्बयः ।'

AV. I. 6. 1 f.: (Cp. RV. I. 23. 20 f.; YV. 36. 12 f.) :—

'शं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । शं योरभि स्रवन्तु नः ॥
अप्सु मे सोमो अब्रवीदन्तर्विश्वानि भेषजा । अग्निं च विश्वशंभुवम् ॥

RV. X. 17. 10 :—

'आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु ।
विश्वं हि रिप्रं प्रवहन्ति देवीरुदिदाभ्यः शुचिरा पूत एमि ॥'

Cf. YV. IV. 1-2 ; VI. 10 ; VI. 27 ; etc.

[1] RV. X. 104. 8 f. :—

'सप्तापो देवीः सुरणा अमृक्ता...॥'

RV. VII. 47. 1-4 :—

'आपो यं वः प्रथमं देवयन्त...।
शतपवित्राः स्वधया मदन्तीर्देवीर्देवानामपि यन्ति पाथः ।...
याः सूर्यो रश्मिभिराततान...ते सिन्धवः वरिवो धातना नो यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ॥'

Cf. RV. VIII. 54. 4 :—

'पूषा विष्णुर्हवनं मे सरस्वत्यवन्तु सप्त सिन्धवः ।
आपो वातः पर्वतासो वनस्पतिः शृणोतु पृथिवी हवम् ॥'

Also read AV. VI. 26. 3 ; XIII. 8. 45 ; VII. 89. 1 f.; RV. X. 17. 1.; etc.

[2] Vide supra, p. 112-13. AV. I. 33. 1 f. ;—

'हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका यासु जातः सविता यास्वग्निः ।
या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आपः शं स्योना भवन्तु ॥'

[3] 'यार्णवेऽधि सलिलमग्र आसीद्यां मायाभिरन्वचरन्मनीषिणः ।
...सा नो भूमिस्त्विषिं बलं राष्ट्रे दधातूत्तमे ॥' —AV. XII. 1. 8.

[4] Crooke, *Religion etc.* p. 56.

Bahiṇī or 'seven sisters' ".[1] Incidentally, it is well to remember that the Semitic Ba'al was conceived as a god who fertilizes the land by subterranean water.[2]

It is supposed that in the personal names like Bel-Ram occurring in the lands of Canaan, " the god may be the Babylonian Bel,"[3] and it seems difficult to deny the connection between Bel-ram and Bala-Rāma. Again, it is averred that Raman or Ramman, 'thunder' is god's own name,[4] and that these two names appear in cuneiform inscriptions as early as 3000 B.C.[5] Though " we never meet Ba'al-Ramman " as the name of a god, it is admitted that such a formation is not unusual in the names of men.[6] As a god of atmosphere, he is also known as 'Adad, Hadad, Hadar or Haddam (?), which name is derived from the Arabic 'Hadd' (to make noise, esp., such as of rain, or a of falling building, etc., so that 'haddah' connotes 'thunder').[7] He is a god of fertility. The Phœnicians styled him Bel-shamayim, Ba'al-samaim or " Beel-samen, which means *lord of heaven* ";[8] and the latter half of this name reminds us of the Prākṛita form of the word 'svāmin' (='master'), which may be easily attached to Bala. We have numerous passages in the Ṛig-veda which describe Pūshan as a *marya* (=marda or manly); we need not wonder if Bel is called Marduk,[9] a name which is still unexplained.[10] Now this Bel-Marduk's consort is known as Ẓarpanit,[11] Sarpanit or Sarpanitum.[12] Bala-deva was regarded as an incarnation of the Śesha form of Vishṇu.[13] Śesha was the Sarparāṭ, i. e. the Prince of Serpents. Naturally, his wife, the Earth, could easily be Sarparājñī (='Queen of serpents'), as we have already seen. If Bel is worshipped in the form of a stone, Śesha is at any rate found connected Śumbhu-Rudra.[14] One may indentify him with the serpent that encircles the *liṅga*.

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[1] Ibid. p. 67. [2] *Golden Bough* XII. 174. [3] ERE. II. 290, col. ii.

[4] ERE. II. 289, col. i. The Tamil from of Rāma is Rāman.

[5] ERE. XII. 165, col. ii. [6] ERE. II. 289, col. i.

[7] J. E., VI. 130 f. [8] Beeton, p. 32.

[9] Compare A. C. Das' suggestion in *Ṛig-vedic India*, p. 235.

[10] ERE. II. 311, col. ii. [11] J. E., II. 306, col. ii.

[12] ERE. II. 297, col. ii.

Names of persons like "Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon", who was a contemporary of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, may also be compared in this connection. (Isaiah, xxxiv. I). Baladan means 'a worshipper of Bel'. Some take it to means : 'Has given a son.'

[13] Cf. Naishadhīya XXI. 85-86.

[14] SRB. p. 7, st. 80:—

' तादृक्सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीभृद्भिरभ्रंकषैः
स्रोतोभिः परिवारिता दिशि दिशि द्वीपैः समन्तादयम् ।

We have already referred to the fertility significance of palm-trees and palm-leaves among the Aegeans and the Phœnicians, and have noted their connection with that cult even in India. Now, one of the prominent epithets of Bala-Rāma is Tālāṅka,[1] i. e., having the emblem of a palm (—twig). Ananta-Śesha, the endless primeval serpent incarnation of Vishṇu takes shelter beneath a "golden palm-tree", according to the Epic mythology[2] and is associated with a tāla-vṛinta.[3] Incidentally, it was customary in good old days for a married lady to deck her person with a 'tāla-patra', which was, perhaps, an ear-ornament in the shape of a palm-leaf; but this ornament had to be discontinued after the demise of her husband.[4]

Ancient Mesopotamia may have been a good breeding place for *serpent myths*, though originally the Sumero-Chaldæans might have borrowed only certain conceptions relating to the Sun-god and the Earth as a pair of primeval serpents from the Egyptians[5] "Monstrous forms of reptiles and serpents are mentioned by Berossus as existing in early times in Babylonia."[6] Herodotus also refers to the worship of a live snake in Babylon; and the seals

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यस्य स्फारफणावलीमणिचये मज्जत्कलङ्काकृतिः
शेषः सोऽप्यगमद्यदङ्गदपदं तस्मैः नमः शम्भवे ॥'

Śesha is here said to have formed an armlet of Śambhu, just as in the Naishadhīya, XXI. 43, he becomes the ear-ring of Vishṇu. Again, in Kashmir, it is Mahādeva-Śiva, who is fabled to have rested on the bosom of the 100-headed serpent Śesha-nāga (JASB. 1866, pt. i. p. 223), though generally it is the privilege of Vishṇu to do so. Another interesting fact is that the Mārtaṇda temple at Matan (Kashmir) is supposed to be a Śaivite shrine.

[1] Amara-kośa, st. 26.

[2] Hopkins, p. 23.

[3] JASB. 1870, pt. i. p. 203 :—तालवृन्तं तदा चक्रे स शेषः etc.

[4] Kādambarī, (Parab's ed., p. 40) :—' क्वचिद्विधवेवोन्मुक्ततालपत्रा । '

Certain palm-trees were supposed to ensure fertility, even for barren women. *The Magic Art*, etc. II. 51.

[5] In Mesopotamia, snakes "are found here and there, but they are for the most part of innocuous species : three poisonous varieties are known, but their bite does not produce such terrible consequences as that of the horned viper or Egyptian uræus." (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 557). "The asp was worshipped by the Egyptians under the name of uræus. It occasionally attains to a length of six and half feet....... The bite is fatal like that of the cerastes; birds are literally struck down by the strength of the poison, while the great mammals and man himself almost invariably succumb to it after a longer or shorter death-struggle." (Ibid. p. 33). If, inspite of Berossus, the same conditions were prevalent in older times, then Egypt was assuredly a more favourable place for the birth of serpent-myths (especially like the myth of Kālīya-nāga, given below) than Mesopotamia. Uræus may be philologically connected with Uraga.

[6] ERE. XI. 399 f.

found there often have " an erect serpent behind two seated figures on either side of a sacred tree."[1] Tia-mat or Tiawath, of Sumerian origin, is a ' serpent of darkness ' or ' the great serpent with seven heads ', and represents the primeval anarchic waters. He is slain, according to another version, subdued and bound, by Bel-Marduk or Merodach (the son of Ēa), who was probably originally " conceived as embodying the spring sun bringing life and light, and similarly embodied in the morning sun by day."[2] As a lord of the waters of Abyss, Ēa[3] or Enki (the god of the lower world and the

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[1] Ibid. Herod. v. 23.

[2] ERE. II. 312. col. i.

[3] Ea is undoubtedly identical with Varuṇa, the Indian god of Waters (cf. TB. I. i. 3. 8:—आपो वै वरुणस्य पत्नय आसन्) and the western quarters. Ea was sometimes called Ashir or Assur (E. B., 11th ed., II. 788. ii.); Varuṇa was not seldom known as Asura (RV. II. 28. 7; II. 27. 10). "As he (=Ea) represented the bottomless abyss, there had been attributed to him a complete knowledge of the past, present and future, whose germs had lain within him, as in a womb. The attribute of supreme wisdom was revered in Ea, the lord of spells and charms, to which gods and men were alike subject: no strength could prevail against his strength, no voice against his voice...his will became law, and no one might gainsay it..." (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 652–653). In Indian tradition, too, we find Varuṇa complimented over his wisdom, which he shows from his watery abode, his knowledge of all things (RV. I. 25. 7-10),—belonging to the past, present or future. RV I. 25. 11:– अतो (पस्त्याभ्य:) विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति कृतानि या च कर्त्वा ।

AV. I. 33.2:—'यासां (अपां) राजा वरुणो याति मध्ये सत्यानृते अवपश्यन् जनानाम् ॥'
Varuṇa is often called Dhṛita-vrata, i. e. ' the supporter of the (eternal) law (of nature)' (cf. RV. I. 25. 10; I. 141. 9; II. 1. 4; etc.) and he props up the two worlds (RV. VII. 86. 1), ' shines' (i. e. rules) over them completely (RV. I. 25. 20), so that the Sun, the Moon, the stars, etc.. keep up their courses (RV. I. 24. 8–10.), for his laws are not to be transgressed (RV. I. 24. 10:—' अदब्धानि वरुणस्य व्रतानि । '). Ever he is vigilant about his laws (RV. VII. 83. 9:- ' व्रतान्यन्यो अभिरक्षते सदा ।'). He protects them by means of his māyā (sorcery, charm, etc.), (cf. RV. V. 63. 7:—धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपाश्चिता व्रता रक्षेथे असुरस्य मायया ।)
In fact, while he is often called ' ṛitasya gopā ' or 'satya-dharman ', (RV. V. 63. 1) his chief epithet is Māyin (RV. VI. 48. 14:-' वरुणमिव मायिनम् । '; RV. X. 99. 10 and X. 147. 5:-' वरुणो न मायी । ; ' also cf. RV. III. 61. 7; V. 44. 11; V. 63. 4; V. 85. 5; VII. 82. 3; VII. 28. 4; etc.). It is but a tribute to his supreme wisdom that none can transgress his spells or charms (RV. V. 85. 6:-

' इमामू नु कवितमस्य मायां महीं देवस्य नकिरा दधर्ष । '

If Ea is associated with serpents and fish (Wooley, Ur etc. p. 140), Varuṇa is known in later literature as nāgapāśadhara and makara-vāhana (Matsya P., 67. 12.)

The name of Ea or Ia " was transcribed 'Ads by Damascius,...a form which is not easily explained (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 271); the most probable hypothesis is that of Hommel (*Geschichte*, p. 254), who considers 'Ads as a shortened form of 'Iads=Ia, Ea. " (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 652). Hardly any body can deny that 'Iads is very akin to Yādaḥpati (Yādas-pati) which stands for both Varuṇa and patron-deity of the "good city" of Eridu) holds a serpent (as also fish) in his hands. Tammuz[1] (originally Damu-zi = 'the sun who rises or goes forth' from the nether-world), the yearly dying god of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Syrians, for whom Venus so much lamented, was in one of his forms "the serpent-dragon", and his most important title was, perhaps, *ama-usumgal-anna*[2] (' mother great serpent of heaven'). Tammuz and Venus-Ishtar correspond to Osiris (a sun god) and Isis respectively in Egyptian religion, according to all students of comparative mythology. I feel it necessary to suggest, though with a little hesitation, that these yearly dying sun-gods Tammuz and Osiris, who are again born with the advent of spring, possibly correspond to the Indian sun-god Vishṇu, who after a sound sleep of four months, is supposed to wake up year after year to help the world.[3]

Macrobius describes the Sun-god of Heliopolis (Egypt), identified with the Aramean Hadad by " recent writers like Baudissin ", as holding a whip or a lightning bolt in one hand and ears of corn in the other.[4] This explains connection of the Sun-god Pūshan with fields and farms, and also why Bala-Rāma should be called Tālāṅka. But in India, the lightning bolt is an attribute not of Pūshan or Bala-Rāma, but of Indra-Śunāsīra. In India,

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the sea (Amara-kośa, st. 68 and 256). For Varuṇa as the master of sea or waters vide RV. I. 25. 7 ; I. 25. 10 ; I. 24. 6 ; VII. 89. 4 ; etc. Lastly, Bel-Marduk was a son of Ea (Dawn of Civilization, p. 539); Bala is supposed to be an offspring of Varuṇa, according to the Mahābhārata (Hopkins, p. 50).

It is a matter of common observation that a person, who is asleep or in a swoon can be often awakened or put in his senses, by splashing a quantity of water over his face. Hence the attribution of wisdom and vigilance to the deities of water, like Ea, Varuṇa, Sarasvatī, etc. Writing about Sarasvatī a writer has wisely remarked :—"In Celtic myth we find knowledge and inspiration associated with running water, or in the myth of the goddess Sinend, daughter of Lodon, son of Lir, who sought and found Counla's Well beneath the sea." NCM., p. 151.

[1] Others think that the word means 'true son' (of the deep water).

[2] J. E., VI. 23 ; ERE. XI. 399 f. Dumuzi, or Duuzi was " both god of the earth of living, and of the world of the dead, but by preference the god who caused vegetable to grow, and who clothed the earth with verdure in the spring." *Dawn of Civilisation* p. 646. cf. Jensen, *Cosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 197, 225, 227, 480, etc.). To me he appears to combine the attributes of both Vishṇu and Rudra-Mahākāla.

[3] " Under the names of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead" (*Adonis, Attis, Orisis*, p. 5). Vishṇu, however, sleeps throughout the autumnal season. I do not wish to mislead ; but there seems to be some evidence to show that the time of death and resurrection of Osiris changed from place to place (Ibid. p. 318 f.)

[4] J. E., VI. 130.

therefore, the original Sun divinity seems to have multiplied under different appellations. At any rate the Aramean Hadad multiplied in India into Bala-Rāma and the thunder-god Indra. Indications to prove that Indra and Bala-Rāma were originally one and the same divinity are not altogether wanting. Firstly, Indra, Pūshan, and Śunā-Sīrau are invoked in the hymn to Kshetra-pati and Sītā in connection with tilling the field.[1] All these male deities seem to be only forms of the same fertilising divinity, the Sky-and-Sun god. *Indra's identity with the sun* is vouchsafed by an Atharvedic stanza, which says that Varuṇa[2] assums the form of Agni in the evening, of the rising Mitra in the morning, of Savitṛi while traversing the sky, and of Indra while shining at noon. Again, Indra is called Bala-pati in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[3]

Perhaps, in all these cases, I am treading on uncertain grounds. But there are some strong grounds too. Kṛishṇa, the younger brother of Bala-Rāma, is, as Vishṇu, always known as Upendra, "the younger or smaller Indra," and Indrāvaraja, "the younger brother of Indra." He can be a younger brother of Indra, only if Indra is identical with Bala. But Kṛishṇa and Bala-deva are in reality identical with each other. Therefore, Kṛishṇa can be equated with Indra; i. e., he is a smaller Indra.[4] But Indra is previously identified by us with Zeus. Hence, Kṛishṇa would be the same as Zeus. If then we are able to prove this last proposition, surely, there should be no reason to deny other identifications suggested here. The identity of Kṛishṇa and Zeus, we shall prove elsewhere.

Meanwhile, we shall adduce more proof in connection with the identification of Bala-Rāma, Indra and Zeus. We can, I

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1. RV. IV. 57. 7-8.
2. AV. XIII. 3. 13 :—

'स वरुणः सायमग्निर्भवति स मित्रो भवति प्रातरुद्यन्।
स सविता भूत्वान्तरिक्षेण याति स इन्द्रो भूत्वा तपति मध्यतो दिवम्॥'

3. Ś. B., XI. iv. 3. 12.
4. After I have written all this, my attention is attracted towards a passage in Das' *Ṛg-vedic India*, p. 231, which speaks of "the Ṛig-vedic Vala or the Sun". I confess my inability to find any Rig-vedic passage, which definitely puts down Vala as a sun-god. I shall be glad if anybody will furnish me with such a passage. For it would strengthen my theory regarding Bala-deva, the only valid objection against which would be that Bala-Rāma or Bala-deva is not mentioned in the Ṛig-veda. I learn however that Val in the Dravidien means 'strong', and Vaḷ 'fertility' or 'abundance, (vide Caldwell's Grammar of the Dravidian languages, p. 489 f.). Bāla in the sense of Balavartin ('possessing strength') is found in the Nirukta IX. 10. 1. Śavas means Vala in Nirukta XII. 21. 1.

imagine, now concede to Bala-Rāma's identification with Ba'al Ramman or Hadad-Rimmon. We can also grant that Indra is to be identified with Zeus. And there seems to be some proof to show that Hadad is Zeus. For instance, the chief god of Hierapolis (Membidj) is called Zeus by Lucian[1] and Hadad by Macrobius. Again the Syrian Hadad (equivalent of Cilician Sandes, Sandan, or Sandas)[2] was transplanted to Rome under the names of Iuppiter Dolichenus (Jupiter of the city of Doliche[3]) and Iuppiter is the same as Zeus. Two things, which are equal to a third, are equal to one another. Therefore, Bala-Rāma and Indra, who are both idential with Ramman, Hadad or Iuppiter, are to be identified with each other. Moreover, Bala-Rāma is Ananta-Śesha : Zeus also appears in the form of a snake (e. g. Zeus Ktesios) in certain bas-reliefs. It was as a serpent that Zeus violated Persephone or Proserpine. Soma (seasame-wine ?) or madhu was a favourite drink of Indra, 'the violator of Ahalyā' and Hālā-Vāruṇi-Madirā (wine) of Bala-Rāma: wine was at any rate sacred to Zeus, and was to be drunk in his honour at a meal.[4]

Bala-Rāma was variously known as Halāyudha, Lāngalī, or Sīra-pāṇi, epithets which connect him with plough-share and hence with fertility of the field.[5] Indra also, as a dispenser of fertilising rains, is connected with *sīra* in the Vedas,[6] and is known as Sīrapati : later he becomes Śunā-sīra. About Zeus' connection with fertilisation of the fields, we shall speak later. But in connection with Lāṅgalī or Lāṅgala-dhara, I may quote Prof. J. Przyluski's observations on the word *lāṅgala* :—" Besides "the plough," the Sanskrit word *lāṅgalam* designates also the 'penis'... From " penis " one can pass, without difficulty, to the sense of ' plough '...There are evident analogies between copulation and the act of ploughing by which one digs up the earth for depositing

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1. *De Dea Syria*, 31.

2. Also Sanda, Sardan, Sandon, etc.

3. Doliche is located in the vicinity of Tell Doluk, some ten miles from Aintab. We learn from Frazer that the Syrian Hadad " like the Baal of Tarsus, was identified by the Greeks with Zeus." *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 130.

4. D. C. A., p. 704. Madhu is philologically connected with Gk. *Methy* (= wine). IA. 1901. 271.

5. Ba'al "was conceived as the male principle of reproduction, the husband of the land which he fertilised."—Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 107 f.

6. RV. IV. 19, 8 : 'परिष्ठिता अतृणद् बद्बधानाः सीरा इन्द्रः स्तवितवे पृथिव्या ।'
RV. X. 49. 9 : 'अहं सप्त स्रवतो धारयं वृषा द्रवित्न्वः पृथिव्यां सीरा अधि ।'
AV. VI. 30. 1 : 'इन्द्र आसीत्सीरपतिः शतक्रतुः ।'

the seeds."[1] I believe, these 'evident analogies' will be even clearer, if we take into account the 'seeder' apparatus, attached to the Babylonian and Assyrian ploughs.[2] I now find that my guess is partly 'hit at' by a German scholar Hahn, who observes that "the plough...would open up the earth where the seeds are to fall. Half-dishevelled, the maternal earth would open up herself and would abjure the sterility to cloth herself up again in the cloak of green verdure reclothing her nudity...There [in Chaldæa] we know (and some Sumerian cylinders testify to it) that the opening up of the furrow is concomitant with the introduction of the seed by means of a horn which functions at the same time as the plough."[3] From all these considerations it seems certain that Bala-Rāma was not only connected with Zeus-Indra, but was doubtless connected with the priapic cult.

And if there be still any doubt lurking in anybody's mind, it can be warded off by the club (Musala) of Musala-dhara or Musalin. Originally he must have been identified with the club, he is later made to wield; a *musala* is nothing but a *śiśna* according to a Brāhmaṇa passage[4] quoted already. Another passage that we quoted from the Kādambarī makes the unhappy Queen Vilāsavatī sleep on or amidst musala-śayanas, in order to be blessed with progeny;[5] and her lying-in-chamber is said to be adorned by a couple of golden hala and musala.[6] But the symbol of life is also the symbol of death, and a *musala* along with an *ulūkhala* is to be kept near the thigh of a corpse at the time of its burial.[7]

"The battle-mace placed upright upon the altar (like a *liṅga* on a *yoni-paṭṭa*), and receiving homage of a man standing in front of it, is not infrequently seen on Assyrian cyliners."[8]

One of the equivalents of Bala-Rāma we find in Legba or Elegba, the chief god of fertility worshipped by the Yorubas. He

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[1] Dr. P. C. Bagchi's translation in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, (1929), p. 10; compare the idea in Manu. IX. 33. f. Also RV. X. 101. 3 :—
'युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनुध्वं कृते योनौ वपते ह बीजम्।'

[2] Antiquity, X. p. 267; Breasted, p. 108.

[3] JDL. XXV (1934), No. 9.

[4] Ś. B., VII. v. 1. 38 :—
'योनिरुलूखलम्...शिश्नं मुसलम्।'

[5] Kādambarī (Parab's ed.), p. 128 :—
'हरितकुशोपच्छदेषु मुसलशयनेषु सुष्वाप।'

[6] Kādambarī, p. 142–44 :—
'संनिहितकनकमयहलमुसलयुगेन...द्वारेण विराजमानम्...सूतिकागृहमदर्शत्।'

[7] Āśv. G. S., IV. 3. 14.

[8] *Dawn of Civilisation*. p. 642. The words within brackets are added by us.

"is supposed to carry a short knotted club", which originally represented the phallus.[1] "In the case of Priapus, we find similar connection between the phallus and a cudgel."[2] "Priapus was worshipped as a god of fertility, giving increase of flocks, watching over gardens and fruit-trees, bedewing them with friendly flowers and caring for the bees."[3] Instead of a big *lāṅgala*, however, this Greek god contented himself with a sickle. Both, as connected with agriculture, are emblems of fertility. In quite a number of passages, Indra appears as a bestower of rains or dew like Priapus; but Priapus looked after, not the Soma-vallī, but the vine-plant.

"On Trendle Hill, just above the village of Cerne Abbas in Dorset (a south-western district in England), an ancient figure known as Cerne giant, 180 ft. long, is cut in the turf. It is represented as flourishing a club in the right hand. It is made with very distinct and exaggerated sexual organs", and is therefore regarded as a representation of Ba'al, whose worship was popularised in England perhaps by the Phœnicians.[4]

We may now turn to certain Vedic and Brāhmaṇa passages, which we had to purposely omit in our discussion regarding the *identity of Indra with the Sun-god*. The Brāhmaṇa passages are numerous. Some say that Indra is, indeed, he who shines brightly (in the sky);[5]—here the commentators do not take him for anybody but the Sun. Other passages make it more explicit by stating that it is this very Āditya, who is (known as) Indra.[6] The Jaminīya Upanishad[7] commenting on a *mantra*-passage referring to ten hundred "Haris" of Indra explains that they are only a thousand rays of Āditya, thus equating Indra with Āditya. In explaining many Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa passages, Sāyaṇa also adheres to this equation,[8] though elsewhere (and generally) he would put a different interpretation on the word Indra. He is often correct; but these days, he can be accused of inconsistency more easily than we can accuse ourselves. And the result is that the real meaning of

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[1] ERE. IX. 817, col. i.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. 816, ii; D. C. A., p. 515.
[4] ERE. IX. 817, ii.
[5] 'एष वै शुक्रो य एष (सूर्यः) तपत्येष उ एवेन्द्रः ।'
—ŚB. IV. v. 5. 7=ŚB. IV. v. 9. 4,
'स यस्स इन्द्र एष एव स य एष एव तपति ।' —Jaim. Up., I. 28. 2.
'इन्द्र इति ह्येतमाचक्षते य एष तपति ।' —ŚB. IV. vi. 7. 11.
Also, ŚB. I. vi. 4. 18; II. iii. 4.12=III. iv. 2. 15; etc.
[6] 'अथ यः स इन्द्रोऽसौ स आदित्यः ।' —Ś. B., VIII. v. 3. 2.
[7] 'युक्ता ह्यस्य (इन्द्रस्य) हरयः शता दशेति । सहस्रं हैत आदित्यस्य रश्मयः ।'
—Jaim. Up., I. 44. 5.
[8] Sāyaṇa, on Tāṇḍya B., 14. 2. 5; etc.

" Indra ",—as clear as day-light though it be—is shrouded in mist and clouded. Correctly speaking, consistency should not always be regarded as a virtue in interpreting mythology which changes colour as easily as a chameleon.

There are at least certain clear Ṛigvedic hymns, that go to prove that Sāyaṇa is correct in identifying at times Indra with the Sun-god. He is sometimes said to be golden (= hiraṇyaya)[1] or golden armed (hiraṇya-bāhuḥ);[2] elsewhere he appears as a seven-rayed bull (= sapta-raśmi vṛishabha).[3] Again, in one hymn, he is solicited to shine with that brilliant lustre of the Sun ;[4] while in another sūkta, he is said to be identical with Sūrya.[5] But the chief verses, that I should draw attention to, are perhaps the ones in which Indra, as identical with Savitṛi, is brought into relation with ' Āpaḥ '[6] or Revatīḥ.

But mythology is a complex phenomenon. We have already seen how Āpaḥ or Revatīḥ bear the fœtus in the form of Agni or the Sun. Now, Indra is a sun-god, and it would not be quite illegitimate if he proves to be a son of Revatī or Āpas. And this does actually take place not only in India, but also in Greece and Italy. For, if Indra is Zeus or Jupiter, Revatī or Āpas should undoubtedly be Rhea[7] (Gk.) or Ops[8] (Roman). Revatī is actually identified in the Vedas with Vṛishākapāyī (who is the same as Sūryā or Ushas), and is said to suckle her son Indra[1] who is recognized by the commentators as Āditya (the Sun,—a son of Aditi). If, then, Indra is identlcal with Bala-Rāma or Revatī-Ramaṇa, surely he is a "Mātur-didhishu".[2]

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[1] RV. I. 7. 2. [2] RV. VII. 34. 4.

[3] RV. II. 12. 12 ; AV. XX. 34. 13 :—
' यः सप्तरश्मिर्वृषभस्तुविष्मानवासृजत्सर्तवे सप्त सिन्धून् । '

[4] RV. X. 112 3 :—
' हरित्वता वर्चसा सूर्यस्य श्रेष्ठै रूपैस्तन्वं स्पर्शयस्व । '

[5] RV. X. 89. 2 :—
स सूर्यः पर्युरू वरांस्येन्द्रो ववृत्याद्रथ्येव चक्रा ।
We can also argue from another angle, viz. that Vishṇu is identical with Indra, in the Ṛig-veda. "The principal deeds of Vishṇu are closely similar to (or identical with) those of Indra. Associatad with Indra, he killed Vṛitra (VI. 20. 2) and destroyed the tricks of Vṛishaśipra (VII. 99. 4). He also killed Varchin and destroyed the strongholds of Śambara (VII. 99. 5)." J. A. S. B., 1932 (NS. XXVIII.) p. 42.

[6] RV. II. 30. 1 :—
' ऋतं देवाय कृण्वते सवित्र इन्द्रायाहिघ्ने न रमन्त आपः । ' Also RV. X. 19. 1f.

[7] Rhea, the goddess of agricultural prosperity was, like Revatī, worshipped on mountain-peaks. "One of the oldest places of her worship was Crete, where in a cave, near the town of Lyctus or else on mounts Dirce or Ida, she is said to have given brith to Zeus..." (D. C. A., p. 542). "In Lydia, she was worshipped principally on Mount Tmolus, as the mother of Zeus..." (Ibid.).

[8] Ops was the Italian goddess of plenty and fertility, as "is indicated by her name, which is connected with *opimus*, *opulentus*, *inops*, and *copia*", (SCD. 356). She was identified with Rhea. (D. C. A., p. 434). Note that Revatī was the goddess of Rayi (wealth).

Authorities have declared:—"Under the name of Agdistis (cf. Aditi), she (=Rhea) was worshipped with great solemnity at Pessinus in Galatia. Under different names we might trace the worship of Rhea as far as the Euphrates, and even Bactriana."[3] Now, I may add, we find it even in India.

Again, this identification of Indra with the Sun would explain why the Chaldæan legend relating to the Sun-god Bel-Marduk and Tiamat or Tiawath appears in India in connection with Indra and Vṛitra. Otherwise the striking similarity between the two legends remains unintelligible. The equations Indra = Bala and Bala = Bel if accepted would bring that suggestion (of Mr. Tilak), which is already probable, into the realm of certainty. Moreover, Ṛibhus are solar rays according to Sāyaṇa,[4] but in some passages in the Vedas they are said to be sons of Indra and off-springs of Śavas.[5] How are we to explain this otherwise than by supposing that Indra was a sun god? Babbar-Shamash was a great Sumero-Chaldæan sun god. "Babbar is the Sumerian name, Shamash the Semitic, which proposed Shawash. Shawash, according to a known law of Babylonian phonetics, has been transcribed by the Greeks as Σαω's''.[1] I do not think, it is very easy to resist the temptation of identifying Ṛigvedic Śavas (who is a sun-god if he is not Indra) with the Semitic Shamash or Shawash, 'the great judge of heaven and earth'.

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[1] RV. X. 86. 13 = AV. XX. 126. 13 :—
'वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आदु सुस्नुषे ।
घसत्त इन्द्र उक्षणः प्रियं काचित्करं हविर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥'

On this, Nirukta, XII. ix. 1 :—
".. प्राश्नातु त इन्द्र उक्षण एतान्माध्यमिकसंस्त्यायान् ।
उक्षण उक्षतेर्वृद्धिकर्मणः, उक्षन्त्युदकेनेति वा,
...सर्बस्माद्य इन्द्र उत्तरस्तमेतद् ब्रूम आदित्यम् ।"

On this, Durga has :—
"हे **वृषाकपायि ! रेवति** धनवति । रयिमति ! **सुपुत्रे** !...**घसत्त उक्षणः** । प्राश्नातु ते इन्द्रः तव स्वभूतानेतान्माध्यमिकानुक्षणोऽवश्यायसंस्त्यायानेष इन्द्र आदित्यः, स हि तानुद्यन् पिबति ।...**विश्वस्मात्** सर्वस्मात् य एष इन्द्र आदित्यः **उत्तरः** तदर्थमिति ।"

[2] The custom of marrying one's mother was prevalent, according to Justin and Tertullian, among the Parthians and Persians. The ancient Irish and the Caribs married without distinction their mothers and sisters, while the Chippeways "frequently cohabit with their mothers and oftener still with their sisters and daughters." Saṁśodhaka, VI. iv, p. 210 & 212.

[3] SCD. 427-8.

[4] On RV. I. 110. 6.

[5] RV. IV. 37. 4 :— 'इन्द्रस्य सूनो शवसो नपातोऽनु वश्चेत्यग्रियं मदाय ।'
RV. IV. 35. 1 :— 'इहोपयात शवसो नपातः सौधन्वना ऋभवो माप भूत ।'
Śavas is *might* or *mighty* according to Indian commentators.

There are other arguments as well to identify Indra with the Sun-god Bel-Marduk. No one, who knows the Purāṇic story relating to Indra and Nahusha can but be struck with the similarity between that tale and a Babylonian myth relating to Bel-Marduk and Zu. Wallis Budge says :—"The Babylonian texts connected with the rites that were performed at Babylon and in the city of Ashur during the New Year Festival show that Bel-Marduk, in spite of his exalted position as "lord of the gods", fell from his high estate and became a prisoner in hell. He was confined in a place where there was neither Sun nor light, ... His wife Beltis went down into hell to try to effect her lord's release, but failed in her attempt. Bel-Marduk's fall seems to have been brought about by the god Zu, who stole from him the "Tablet of Destinies", by means of which he had ruled heaven and earth. Bel-Marduk remained in hell until the god Enurta, who had been sent to capture Zu by the god Anshar, returned with the "Tablet of Destnies". Thereupon the gods broke open the door of the prison in which Bel-Marduk was confined, and brought him out and presumably restored to him the Tablet and his former position."[2] At another place, the same writer states :—"An ancient legend says that Zu coveted the sovereignty of Enlil, and that one morning, when Enlil was taking his seat on his throne, he seized the Tablet of Destiny of the Gods, and carried it off to a mountain ..."[3] We know of Nanusha's attempt to catch hold of the sceptre and Śachī (=Prowess?) of Indra, the fall of Indra, his restoration after Nahusha's failure to seize Śachī, and so forth. But I enquire if Enlil (that 'king of the Holy Abode' who came to be identified with Marduk) is in any way philologically connected with Indra. As for Zu (the prototype of Nahusha), he was a god who "presided over tempests : he gathered clouds together, caused them to be burst in torrents of rain or hell."[4] Thus he was essentially a god of the tempest, just as Indra was mainly a mighty god of rains wielding power over the thunderstorms. Hence it is that we get the latter's description as Nahusho Nahushṭaraḥ[1] (= "a mightier Nahush than Nahush himself).

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[1] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 657.

[2] Wallis Budge, p. xi-xii.

[3] *Amulets and Superstitions*, (1930), p. 90–91.

[4] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 659. J. F. Hewitt points out a 'remarkable coincidence' "between the word Nahusha and that used in Hebrew for the brazen serpent, worshipped by the people of Judæa" viz. Naghash (JRAS 1889. 264) or Nehushtan (Buckland, *The Universal Bible Dictionary*, p. 332 f.). 2 Kings, xviii. 4 refers to Moses worshipping it, and to incense burnt to it. Cf. also Nahash in Buckland, l. c., p. 327.

Here I should commend for careful perusal the following quotation from the pen of an Indian scholar[2] :—"The earliest references, as found in the Brāhmaṇas, clearly show that the story of Ahalyā is based on mythology or religious allegory and not on any historical or even legendary account ... Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in the Śishṭāchāra Prakaraṇa of the Tantra-vārtika suggests that the sun, because of its legendary splendour, is called Indra, while night is called Ahalyā, because it disappears during the daytime". In light of this suggestion of the great Bhaṭṭa, the epithet Ahalyā-jāra[3] comes on a par with the well-known epithets of the Sun-god Pūshan, viz. Mātur-didhishu and Svasur-jāra.

Further, is it altogether without significance that both Mithra and Indra are thousand-eyed and that "in the Avesta Mitra's club is called Vazra, while in the Veda Indra's club is Vajra" ?[4] In other words, is the Indian tradition (already quoted), which tells us that Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Suparṇa, etc., are only names of the same god, altogether without historical foundation ? The derivation of Persian Mithra or Mitra from *metṛu* (an Assyrian word for *rain*), suggested by H. W. Hogg and adopted by J. H. Moulton,[5] only serves to bring the character of the two gods, Indra and Mitra, nearer. At any rate, there is no reason why we should not accept the identity of Indra and the Chaldæan Sun-god Bel-Marduk, since Zeus, who is just the same as Indra, is already known to be identical with Bel-Marduk.[6] And if Indra was at times called Asura,[7] Bel-Marduk was sometimes known as A-shir.[8]

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[1] R. V., X. 49. 8 :—
अहं सप्तहा नहुषो नहुष्टरः प्राश्रावयं शवसा तुर्वशं यदुम् ।

[2] Jha Com. Vol., p. 431 ; Ś. B., III. iii. 4. 18 ; Shaḍ. B., I. 1 ; T. A., I. xii. 4 ; Lāṭ. Śr., I. iii. 1 ; etc.

[3] Cf. Tantra-vārtika, I. iii. 7 :—
'एवं समस्ततेजाः परमैश्वर्यनिमित्तेन्द्रशब्दवाच्यः सवितैवाहनि लीयमानतया रात्रेरहल्या-शब्दवाच्यायाः क्षयात्मकरणहेतुत्वाज्जीर्यत्यस्मादनेनैवोदितेनादित्य एवाहल्याजार इत्युच्यते न तु परस्त्रीव्यभिचारात् ।' See now Appendix G.

[4] I. Taylor, p. 320. Vajra, identified with *arka* in the Nirukta (III. xi. 3.) is supposed by some to represent sun-shine.

[5] Moulton, p. 36 f.

[6] ERE. II. 297, col. i. ; *The Scapegoat*, 389.

[7] RV. X. 55. 4 ; III. 38. 4 ; etc.

[8] E. B. (11th ed.), II. 788. ii.

Incense-offering plays a very prominent part in the worship of Ba'al or Bel , as will be apparent from the following Biblical quotations. Hardly any *pūjā* in a big congregation is performed in India where incense (guggula) is not burnt.:—" And the Chaldæns that fight against this city, shall come and set fire on this city, and burn it with the houses, upon whose roofs they have offered incense unto Ba'al, and poured out drink offerings unto other gods, to provoke me to anger.''[1]

Again, about certain other devotees probably of Ba'alim and Ashtoreth, we are told :—" They sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good : therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery.''[2]

Human sacrifices were also at times offered to Ba'al (as to Zeus,[3] Dionysus etc,) and we find reminiscences of it even in the Bible :— " And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.''[4] " They have built also the high places of Ba'al, to burn their sons with fire *for* burnt offerings unto Ba'al.''[5] This is to be expected in what was originally and ever (before it came into India) a phallic cult.

The worship of Ba'al and Ishtar-Ashtart-Ashtarte in Phœnicia and all the hundreds of Phœnician colonies spread over a very vast region is well attested by numerous inscriptions and statements of classical writers. It is conclusively proved by now that the Phœnician colonies spread right from Arabia to Scandinevia. Why do we then shirk at the suggestion that the Phœnicians (Gk. Phœnik) might be identical with the Paṇis, whose description in the Ṛigveda as greedy traders, adventurous and almost nefariously ruthless in their habits, probably exactly corresponds to what we find about the Phœnicians in the literature of the West ? It is unsafe to deny or ignore that the word Paṇi is almost an exact philological equivalent of Vaṇij-Vaṇik.[6] And we have the authority of various lexicons, like the Nānārthārṇava-saṁkshepa,[7] Rāja-nighaṇṭu,[8] etc., to equate

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1. Jeremiah, xxxii. 29.
2. Hosea, iv. 13.
3. E. B., XXIII 948.
4. 1 Kings, xviii. 28.
5. Jeremiah, xix. 5.
6. The letters 'p' and 'v' are philologically easily interchageable, and 'p' " is in a Sanskritic word often changed " to 'v' in Tamil. (Jour. Ori. Res., XIV. i. p. 51.)
7. Trivandrum Sans. Ser., XXIII. p. 105 :—
   ' पणिस्तु वणिजि त्रि स्याद्धातौ ना पणनार्थके । '
8. Das, p. 188.

Paṇi or Paṇika with Vaṇij-Vaṇik. It would be equally unfortunate to forget the connection between Paṇi and Paṇa (or Kārshāpaṇa), which is vouchsafed by all the Sanskrit grammarians and etymologists. Here then lies the origin of the Indian coinage : The Paṇis used them for trading purposes. Incidentally, we are already aware that the word *Bania* is to be derived from Vaṇij, just as Āpaṇi and Vipaṇi from the root *paṇ* to trade.

And this is in conformity with the suggestion that some of the Nāga-worshipping people might have easily called themselves Nāgas or Phaṇis. For we have previously referred to the prevalence of that worship in ancient Kathiawar. To sum up, in Ānarta-Kathiawar, the Paṇi-Vaṇik-Bania traders worshipped the serpent-god Bala-Rāma as well as Revatī, probably chiefly on the hill of Raivataka. Kṛishṇa was also worshipped along with them, and to that Govinda, cows are sacred. No Indian need be told how sinful it is for a Bania to eat cows. Among the Phœnicians, cows "were never eaten on any pretence."[1] Another fact in support of the identification of the Paṇis and the Phœnicians may be this : "In Phœnician cosmogony, the beginning of all things was a moving and limitless chaos of utter darkness", which undoubtedly corresponds to Asat, from which Sat was born, according to a famous Ṛigvedic hymn, often referred to in this thesis and given in the Appendix A. There are numerous passages in the Brāhmaṇas, where it is averred with confidence that "Asad-eva Somya idam-agra āsīt" (='Only Asat was there in the beginning'). According to Phœnician cosmology, "After a lapse of ages, this agitated air became enamoured of its own first principles, and from this embrace was generated Mot which some interpret mud" (*Mṛit*). I beg to point out that the same Ṛigvedic hymn refers to Mārtāṇḍa (i. e., the Sun, lit. 'that which is born out of the dead or mṛita egg' as Sāyaṇa probably correctly explains ; or it may have been, one suspects, connected at one time by popular etymologists with mṛit + aṇḍa, to mean 'a muddy globe'), being born after divine agitation.

In the end, I may be allowed to indicate the *identity of Indra and Śiva-Agni*, which is already rendered probable by the numerous arguments given above. Both Indra and Śiva-Hara-Mahādeva are pre-eminently war-gods, one of the Vedic period, the other of modern times. Secondly, we know that a Śiva-liṅga is always to be placed on a sacred yoni-paṭṭa, and that Maheśvara is said, as in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, to reside in every yoni.[2] It may not be an impossible conjecture that, the yoni, on which Indra is to be seated according to the Ṛigveda,[1] represents the same belief. Further, *aśani* is undoubtedly the chief emblem of Indra, but this appears along with Bhava, Rudra, etc., as a name of Agni, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Now, in a passage in the Śāṅkhāyana (Kaushītaki) Brāhmaṇa, wherein the eight epithets of Agni-Rudra are explained, Aśani is actually said to stand for Indra ;[2] just as Hadad is identified with thunder,[3] or just as thunder itself is called Zeus in a Mantinean inscription.[4] A thing that is sacred to god is identical with him.

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[1] ERE. I. p. 507, col. i.

[2] Śvetāśvatara Up., IV. 5 f.

In the Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa passage, *aśani* seems to be regarded as a weapon of destruction. No doubt, destruction is an attribute of Mahākāla. But the god of death and destruction is also the god of life and fertility. Therefore, it is as necessary to invoke Indra,[5] as to pray to Agni, to favour young damsels at the time of their wedding. The identity of Indra and Rudra is placed beyond doubt by numerous Brāmaṇa passages, which identify the former either with phallus[6] or with virility.[7] Epithets and attributes that are characteristic of Indra, e. g. Maghavan, etc., may be, therefore, freely mentioned in Ṛiks addressed to Agni,[8] for in reality they are identical. I may here refer to an important Vedic hymn addressed to Agni-Brahmaṇaspati, which explicitly guarantees his identity

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1. RV. I. 104. 1 :—‘ योनिष्ट इन्द्र निषदे अकारि etc. । ’
   Cf. Nirukta, I. 17. 2.
2. K. B., VI. 9 :—‘ स वै त्वमित्यब्रवीदशनिरेवेति, यदशनिरिन्द्रस्तेन... । ’
3. Compare Ś. B. XI. vi. 3. 9 :—‘ स्तनयित्नुरेवेन्द्रः । ’
4. E. B., XXIII. 948.
5. RV. X. 85. 25 :—‘ यथेयमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रा सुभगासति । ’
   RV. X. 85. 45 :—‘ इमां त्वमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कृणु ।
   दशास्यां पुत्राना धेहि पतिमेकादशं कृधि ॥ ’
6. Ś. B., XII. ix. 1. 16 :— शिश्नमिन्द्रः ।
7. Ś. B., III. ix. 1. 15 = V. iv. 3. 18 :— इन्द्रियं वीर्य्यं वा इन्द्रः ।
   Ś. B., XII. ix. 1. 17 :— ‘ रेत इन्द्रः । ’
   Tāṇḍya B., IX. vii. 5. 8 = Gopatha Up., VI. 7 :— वीर्य्यं वा इन्द्रः ।
   Compare T. B., I. vii. 2. 2 ; etc. Indra’s indriya (= phallus ?) is an oft-mentioned object in Brāhmaṇa passages, some of which, I suspect, would perhaps show that it was used for sprinkling sacramental waters. I am well aware of the possibility that indriya may be correctly interpreted in these instances as ‘might’ (or ‘virile might ? ’), which the reciter professes to bestow.
   Ś. B., V. iv. 2. 2 :—इन्द्रस्येन्द्रियेण (त्वाभिषिञ्चामि) ।
   A. B., VIII. 7 :— ‘ इन्द्रस्येन्द्रियेणाभिषिञ्चामि । ’
8. RV. I. 59. 6 :—
   ‘ प्र नू महित्वं वृषभस्य वोचं यं पूरवो वृत्रहणं सचन्ते ।
   वैश्वानरो दस्युमग्निर्जघन्वाँ अधुनोत्काष्ठा अव शम्बरं भेत् ॥ ’
   RV. II. 6. 4 = YV. XII. 43 = TS. IV. ii. 3. 4.

with Indra = Vṛishabha, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Mitra, Aṁśa, Rudra = Asura, Pūshan, etc.[1]

Indra is essentially supposed to be a god of rain, so that it is natural that he should be solicited in the Vedic hymns to bestow rains and fertilize the earth. There are at least certain tribes in India, amongst whom human sacrifices were frequently performed not many years ago, before a *liṅga* of Mahādeva, to procure rain. Thus among the Bhagats, the "person who officiates as priest on the occasion says, 'O Mahādeo, we sacrifice this man to you according to ancient customs. Give us rain in due season, and a plentiful harvest'."[2]

We have already seen that Indra-Vajrī (holding *vajra*, the emblem of lightning) is identical with Syrian Hadad (or Ramman), who "stands upon a bull holding the emblem of lightning and a double axe. His consort was a Lion-goddess, described on inscriptions as Hera Sancta."[3] Undoubtedly, she is identical with Kṛishṇā-Yogamāyā-Durgā, to whom also the lion is sacred. And Durgā's husband is Rudra = Khaṇḍa-paraśu, who must, therefore, be identified with Iuppiter Dolichenus, with his axe. In fact, the latter divinity combines in himself the characteristic attributes of both Vajrī and Khaṇḍa-paraśu, as he holds the emblems of lightning and a double axe. We may also remind the reader that we have already quoted a certain Ṛigvedic passage which identifies Dyaushpitṛi (= Zeus or Iuppiter, recognized as a western counterpart of Indra) with Rudra, and that Hecate, the wife of Zeus, (corresponding to Hera Sancta) is the same as Śakti, the consort of Rudra.[4]

What wonder, then, if both Indra and Rudra-Agni are called Asura (Osiris-Ashshur),[5] etc.? Again, Rudra (Vṛishabha-dhvaja or Vṛisha-dhvaja of classical Sanskrit) is often called in the Ṛigveda Vṛishabha ;[6] and perhaps, there is hardly any other epithet which is applied more frequently to Indra,[1] than Vṛishā, so that it has come to stand in later Sanskrit. This association with the bull, observable in the case of both Indra and Rudra, is to be compared to (if not derived from) that of Hadad-Rimmon. Moreover, if we accept Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation[2] of the word Tryambaka with a little modification, and derive it from Tri + Ambā or Ambikā, which we have already made probable on independent grounds, it would mean that Tyambaka had no less than three sister-consorts or Ambikās (mother-goddesses). Indra is often referred to as being served by three goddesses as by three wedded consorts,[3] who are named Bhāratī, Bṛihatī and Mahī.[4] With this may be compared the fact that Bhāratī, Ilā, Sarasvatī,[5] are always associated in the Āprī sūktas with Agni. Incidentally I may put here a query. Hadad-Rimmon is said to be referred to as Amurra, 'the Amorite god'. In India, the epithet *Amūra* is applied in the Ṛigveda to diverse divinities,[6] but especially to Agni.[7] All traditional interpretations follow Nirukta,[8] making it only an archaic form of the word 'Amūḍha', i.e. 'not mad'. One wonders as to whether it is a very good way of extolling the Omniscient for His wisdom, to compliment Him for not being mad ! Can this epithet be interpreted to mean that Agni-Rudra is addressed in the Ṛigveda as a god of the Amorites ?

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[1] RV. II. 1. 3-6 :—
'त्वमग्न इन्द्रो वृषभः सतामसि त्वं विष्णुरुरुगायो नमस्यः ।
त्वं ब्रह्मा रयिविद् ब्रह्मणस्पते त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरन्ध्या ॥
त्वमग्ने राजा वरुणो धृतव्रतस्त्वं मित्रो भवसि दस्म ईड्यः ।
त्वमर्यमा सत्पतिर्यस्य संभुजं त्वमंशो विदथे देव भाजयुः ॥
त्वमग्ने त्वष्टा विधते सुवीर्यं...त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवः...
त्वं पूषा विधतः पासि नु त्मना ॥' Cf. RV. V. 3. 1-2.

[2] Allen, p. 229. [3] Garstang, p. 302 ; ERE. II. 888, col. i.

[4] Supra, p. 8, 50, 113, etc.

[5] Asura = Indra (RV. X. 55. 4 ; III. 38. 4 : cf. III. 38. 7); = Rudra (RV. V. 42. 1 ; 42. 11); = Agni (RV. III. 3. 4; V. 15. 1 ; X. 11. 6); etc.

[6] RV. II. 33. 4 ; II. 33. 7–8 ; II. 33. 13.

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[1] AV. XX. 137. 12 ; XX. 1. 1. etc. RV. I. 16. 1 ; I. 32. 3 ; I. 139. 6 ; V. 40. 2–4 ; VI. 44. 11, 20–21 ; X. 86. 15 = AV. XX. 126. 15 ; RV. X. 103. 1 ; etc. Ś. B., V. iii. 1. 1 ; etc. Vide, RV. VI. 44. 21 :—

'वृषासि दिवो वृषभः पृथिव्या वृषा सिन्धूनां वृषभः स्तियानाम्।
वृष्णे त इन्दुर्वृषभ पीपाय स्वादू रसो मधुपेयो वराय ॥'

Read Nirukta VI. 17. 7, with Durga's commentary.

Compare RV. V. 36. 5 :—'वृषा त्वा वृषणं वर्धतु द्यौर्वृषा वृषभ्यां वहसे हरिभ्याम्।
स नो वृषा वृषरथः सुशिप्र वृषक्रतो वृषा वज्रिन्भरे धाः ॥'

[2] *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* (Meyer Lectures, 1940), p. 42.

[3] 'देवीस्तिस्रस्तिस्रो देवीः पतिमिन्द्रमवर्धयन्'
—Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā XIX. 3 ; Mait. Saṁ., III. 11. 5 ; IV. 13. 8 ; T. B., II. 6. 10. 4 ; III. 6. 13. 1 ; Āśv. Śr., II. 16. 5 ; Śāṅkhya. Śr.. III. 13. 27 ; YV. XXI. 54 ; XXVIII. 18. 'तिस्रो देवीर्हविषा वर्धमाना इन्द्रं जुषाणा जनयो न पत्नीः।'
—Kāṭhaka Saṁ. 31. 6 ; Mait. Saṁ. III. 11. 1 ; T. B., III. vi. 8. 3.
'देवीस्तिस्रस्तिस्रो देवीर्वयोधसं पतिमिन्द्रमवर्धयन्।'
—YV. XXVIII. 41 ; T. B., II. vi. 20. 4.

[4] 'होता यक्षत्पेशस्वतीस्तिस्रो देवीर्हिरण्ययीर्भारतीर्बृहतीर्महीः पतिमिन्द्रं वयोधसम्।'
—YV. XXVIII. 31.

[5] RV. I. 142 ; I. 188 ; II. 3 ; III. 4 ; etc.

[6] RV. VII. 61. 5 ; IV. 26. 7 ; etc.

[7] RV. IV. 6. 2 ; VII. 9. 3 ; X. 4. 4 ; etc.

[8] Nirukta VI. 8. 4, on RV. X. 4. 4.

CHAPTER XIII

Rāmāyaṇa

We have seen that in all probability, Bala-Rāma was connected with phallic worship. Again, Bhārgava Paraśu-Rāma appears either as a husband or as a son of the Mother Goddess (Reṇukā). This double role could not but belong to a father god. So, Bala-Rāma and Paraśu-Rāma were only forms of the same Ahir-Budhnya or Khaṇḍa-Paraśu, i. e., Śiva. It is certainly not without significance that Śiva himself offers his own Paraśu to Paraśu-Rāma. Nor is it without reason that Paraśu-Rāma offers his bow to Dāśarathi Rāma, with the plausible excuse to test his strength.[1] In Syria,[2] Mesopotamia,[3] etc. Ramman is wielder of the battle axe, as he is also of the thunderbolt (aśani). Here, therefore, he seems to have bifurcated into Paraśu-Rāma and Rudra. The argument is that if two 'Rāma' incarnations of Vishṇu can, with a certain amount of confidence, be declared to have originated from the phallic cult, is it too much to suppose that the third Rāmāvatāra, too, should have a like origin?

In fact, Sītā, the consort of Dāśarathi Rāma, according to a legend preserved in the Daśaratha Jātaka, was his sister; just as Ambikā was a sister of Rudra in addition to being his spouse. Sītā according to Hindu tradition was an incarnation of Lakshmī or Śrī, who is only a form of the Earth Goddess Ambikā. Sītā etymologically stands in Sanskrit for the "furrowed earth" or "furrrows".[4] In this sense the word has been used even in classical literature. A passage in the Naishadhīya suggests to me that originally Sītā, represented the goddess of agricultural prosperity arising out of the furrowed earth.[5] At all events, according to all Hindu traditions, her mother was the Earth goddess herself.[6] This is an almost constant feature of the Mother Goddess, which we have noted in numerous instances. There can be no denying that she was worshipped at the time of tilling the soil as early as the composition of the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra[1] and Pāraskara-gṛihya-sūtra.[2] A passage in the Hari-vaṁśa definitely says that Sītā is the Mother Goddess of tillers of the soil, just as Earth is that of all beings.[3] Sītā is a very early divinity. She finds mentions not only in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,[4] but also in the Atharva-veda[5] and the Ṛig-veda.[6] Sāyaṇa commenting on the Taittirīya explains 'Sītā' in the sense of the furrowed earth or furrows; but already in the Ṛig-veda she appears as a presiding deity of the furrowed field, and she is there guided by Pūshan. No one can, or need, doubt the mythical character of the divinity in that sūkta. Earlier in the sūkta, the male counterpart of Sītā seems to be referred to as "Master of the field"[7] (Kshetrasya pati), and we know from another source that this 'Master of the field' is none but Śambhu or Śiva.[3] He is invoked to make the Oshadhis, etc. surcharged with madhu or honey-elixir, so intimately connected with the Sky Father and the Earth Mother (Dyāvā-Pṛithivī). This madhu is probably the morning dew or the rains. In the Sūtra literature, the position of this Kshetrapati is occupied by Indra, who appears to be mentioned (probably as a male counterpart), along with Sītā (the Mother Earth). We have already quoted a passage in which Indra is called the 'bull of the Earth' (Vṛishabhaḥ Pṛithivyāḥ),[9] and we have noted his connection with sīras. Even in the famous Bhūmi-sūkta,—which describes the Earth-Goddess as the nourisher of all (Viśvambharā), the repository of wealth having gold in her bosom, the base and the stability of the world, the earth that bears (the garbha in the form of) Vaiśvānara Agni (= Fire, benevolent to all men),—makes Indra her bull.[1] Later on she is called Indra-guptā.[2] In addition to what has already been said, I may further quote the following remarks on Zeus (who is none but Indra) from the pen of an authority :—" A deity who sent the fertilizing rains would come to be regarded as a god of vegetation, who descended into the earth and whose power worked in the life that wells forth from the earth in plants and trees...A Dodonean liturgy has been preserved which, though framed in the form of an invocation and a dogma, has the force of a spellprayer—" Zeus was and is and will be, O Great Zeus : earth gives forth fruits, therefore, call on Mother Earth ".[3] Zeus the sky-god is seen here allied to the earth-goddess, of whom his feminine counterpart, Dione, may have been the personal form."[4] Again, in Cretan religion, the male divinity often appears as " a sky-power fertilizing Mother Earth."[5]

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[1] Rām., I. 75. 21 f. (K. P. Parab's ed. p. 1081).

[2] Antiquity, 1930, IV. p. 461.

[3] Glotz. p. 234-35.

[4] Abhidhāna-ranta-mālā (of Halāyudha) II. 421 = Amara-kośa, st. 900 :—
'सीता लाङ्गलपद्धतिः ।'

[5] Naishadhīya, XXI. 72 :—
'आज्ञया च पितुरज्ञभिया च श्रीरहीयत महीप्रभवा द्विः ।'
Read Nārāyaṇa's commentary.

[6] Rām., Bāla-kaṇḍa, 66. 14; Uttara-kāṇḍa, 97. 14 f.; Padma P. :—

अथ लोकेश्वरी लक्ष्मीर्जनकस्य पुरे स्वतः ।
शुभक्षेत्रे हलोत्खाते तारे चोत्तरफाल्गुने ।
...सीतामुखे समुत्पन्ना बालभावेन सुन्दरी ।
सीतामुखोद्भवात्सीता इत्यस्मै नाम चाकरोत् ॥

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[1] K. A. II. 28.

[2] P. G. S., II. 13. 1–2; II. 17. 1 f.

[3] Harivaṁśa, II. iii. 14:-
'कर्षु v. l. र्षकानां च सीतेति भूतानां धरणीति च ।'
The commentator makes the meaning clear by explaining it etymologically.

[4] T. A., VI. 6. 2.

[5] AV., III. 17. 8; III. 17. 4.

[6] RV. IV. 57. 6–7:—
'अर्वाची सुभगे भव सीते वन्दामहे त्वा ।
यथा नः सुभगासिस यथा नः सुफलासिस ॥
इन्द्रः सीतां नि गृह्णातु तां पूषानु यच्छतु ।
सा नः पयस्वती दुहामुत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥

[7] RV. IV. 57. 2-3:—
'क्षेत्रस्य पते मधुमन्तमूर्मिं धेनुरिव पयोऽस्मासु धुक्ष्व ।
मधुश्चुतं घृतमिव सुपूतमृतस्य नः पतयो मृळयन्तु ॥
मधुमतीरोषधीर्द्याव आपो मधुमन्नो भवत्वन्तरिक्षम् ।
क्षेत्रस्य पतिर्मधुमान्नो अस्त्वरिष्यन्तो अन्वेनं चरेम ॥'

[8] RV. VII. 35. 10 :— शं नः क्षेत्रस्य पतिरस्तु शम्भुः ।

[9] RV. VI. 44. 21.

Parjanya is only an aspect of this Sky Father. The Vedas refer to Parjanya as the Father of the world and to Earth as the Mother. According to the Bhūmi-sūkta, the Earth is not only Indra-guptā but also Parjanya-patnī ;[6] the idea of this Sky-and-Rain-Father Megha-vāhana fertilising the Mother Earth is well known to the Vedas. Daksha, Rudra, Indra, Parjanya, Varuṇa, etc. thus appear to be only different aspects of the same Sky Father Dyaus ; and so is the god Prajāpati Kāśyapa, who is to be invoked, according to the Artha-śāstra, at the seed-time, along with Sītā Devī,—again as her male counterpart,—to make the seed (i. e., the crops) 'flourish'. The following *mantra* is to be muttered :—" Bow always unto the

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[1] AV. XII. 1. 6. :—
' विश्वम्भरा वसुधानी प्रतिष्ठा हिरण्यवक्षा जगतो निवेशनी ।
वैश्वानरं बिभ्रती भूमिरग्निमिन्द्रऋषभा द्रविणे नो दधातु ॥ '

[2] AV. XII. 1. 11.

[3] Pausanias, X. 12. 10.

[4] E. B., XXIII ; 948 f.

[5] ERE. VIII. 868 f. Compare with this, the quotations on p. 82.
RV. VII. 101. 3-6 :—' पितुः पयः प्रतिगृभ्णाति माता...।
...स रेतोधा वृषभः शश्वतीनाम् । '
AV. XII. 1. 12. :—' तासु नो धेह्यभि नः पवस्व माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः ।
पर्जन्यः पिता स उ नः पिपर्तु ॥ ' cf. AV. X. 1. 52.

[6] AV. XII. 1. 42-43 :—
यस्यामन्नं व्रीहियवौ यस्या इमाः पञ्च कृष्टयः ।
भूम्यै पर्जन्यपत्न्यै नमोऽस्तु वर्षमेदसे ॥
यस्याः पुरो देवकृताः क्षेत्रे यस्या विकुर्वते ।
प्रजापतिः पृथिवीं विश्वगर्भां आशामाशां रण्यां नः कृणोतु ॥

Lord of all beings (= Prajāpati), who is Kāśyapa and a god : May the goddess Sītā favour me in grain and in money ".[1] Again, the Bhūmi-sūkta quoted above seems to identify Parjanya with Prajāpati. All this is in conformity with the fact that Kāśyapa is always mentioned as a husband of Aditi and other forms of the nude Goddess, like Surabhi, Irā, Kadrū, etc.;[2] and the Sun is his son.

The main function of the Sky Father is thus nourishing the crops. And Pūshan, the nourisher, was undoubtedly an Āditya[3] or a son of Aditi, Mahī or the Earth. Sītā was also an off-spring of the same Earth Goddess, in the sense that she was a goddess of prosperity arising out of the furrowed earth. Therefore, they (Pūshan and Sītā) are brother and sister : herein lies the origin of the Buddhist tradition, pertaining to Rāma and Sītā, as brother and sister—which is thus strikingly confirmed by Vedic evidence. We have repeatedly observed that Pūshan is a violator of his sister.[4] I admit, it is Ushas who is mentioned in the Vedas as his sister,[5] and not Sītā. But then, it is in the early morning that the farmer begins to till the field, or that the field appears bedewed. In fact, Eōs, the Greek Ushas, is described as sprinkling dew[6] (which is, of course, nothing but *madhumat payaḥ* nourishing the *oshadhis*), over the earth,[1] and this idea is not unknown to Ṛigveda.[2] I think, I am not far wrong, since both Sītā and Ushas[3] are only forms of the Celestial Goddess. Any way, we should not seek for too much of consistency in mythology.

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[1] K. A., II. 24 ; 116–118 :—
'तस्योपलब्धिर्बृहस्पतेस्स्थानगमनगर्भाधानेभ्यः शुक्रोदयास्तमयचारेभ्यः सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिवैकृताच्च । सूर्याद्बीजसिद्धिः ।...अमुं च मन्त्रं ब्रूयात्—" प्रजापतये काश्यपाय देवाय च नमः सदा । सीता मे ऋध्यतां देवी बीजेषु चे धनेषु च ॥ '
(Shamasastry's tr. 1915. p. 143-146).
'काश्यपेयं महद्द्युतिम् ।...प्रणतोस्मि दिवाकरम् ॥ '—Navagraha-stotra, 1.

[2] Matsya P., VI. 1 ; XI. 1 ; CLIV. 352 f.

[3] Nirukta, VII. 9. 1.

[4] RV. VI. 55. 4=5 :—
'पूषणं न्वजाश्वं उप स्तोषाम वाजिनम् । स्वसुर्यो जार उच्यते ॥
मातुर्दिधिषुमब्रवं स्वसुर्जारः शृणोतु नः । भ्रातेन्द्रस्य सखा मम ॥ '
This bhrāt=Endrasya is undoubtedly Indrāvaraja.

[5] RV. VII. 76. 3 :—'यतः परि जार इवाचरन्त्युषो ददृक्षे न पुनर्यतीव । '
RV. VI. 58. 4=Mait. Saṁ. IV. 14. 16 :—
'यं (पूषणं) देवासो अददुः सूर्यायै कामेन कृतं तवसं स्वञ्चम् । '
Compare T. B., II. viii. 5. 4.
RV. I. 115. 2=AV. XX. 107. 15=TB. II. viii. 7. 1=Mait. Saṁ., IV.14.4:-
'सूर्यो देवीमुषसं रोचमानां मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात् । '
RV. VII. 75. 5:—'वाजिनीवती सूर्यस्य योषा... ।
T. S., IV. iii. 11. 1:
'छन्दस्वती उषसा पेपिशाने समानं योनिमनुसंचरन्ती ।
'सूर्यपत्नी वि चरतः प्रजानती केतुं कृण्वाने अजरे भूरिरेतसा । '
Cf. Kāṭhaka Saṁ., 39. 10 ; Mait. Saṁ., II. 13. 10 ; AV. VIII. 9. 12 ; Āp. G. S., VIII. 22. 5.

[6] D. C. A., p. 214.

In the above-mentioned Artha-śāstra passage where Sītā is a farm-divinity to be propitiated, Garbhādhāna is prescribed at the seed-time to ensure good crop, and the right of Sūrya to make the crops thrive is also recognized. These days, it is only Bhū-Mātā (Mother Earth) that is addressed with certain fertility rites observed in her connection. " Many cases are on record of high-caste women going to the field in time of draught at night and stripping themselves naked. Two of them are yoked to a plough, while a third holds the handles and a pretence at ploughing is made, the driver shouting 'O Mother Earth ! Bring parched grain, water and chaff ! '..."[4] Frazer quotes numerous instances, where women are directed to make a pretence at ploughing (*The Magic Art*, etc., I. 282 f.) to procure rain. Again, among others, sexual act is enjoined "at the very moment when the first seeds were deposited in the ground" (Ibid. II.98 f.).

We have some light on the connection of the Earth Goddess with ploughing, even from ancient Mesopotamia. " Mesopotamian cylinder-seals display the ploughman garbed as a priest ; or they show the plough in association with astral symbols [of course, pertaining to the Goddess] or being offered to a seated god or goddess of agriculture. Again, a Cypriote clay model of a ploughing scene from the Early Bronze Age, during the third millennium B. C., associates the plough with those cults of the Divine Mother and the Sacred Bull [who evidently signifies the Father God, identical with either the sky or the sun], once so widely diffused over the Near East."[5]

Any way, there can be little doubt that the word "Sītā" has some philological connection with a Babylonian word for the earth, viz. ir-si-tu.[6] It is perhaps from there that we have borrowed our Sītā. If, then, Sītā is the goddess of furrowed earth, A-sītā would

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1. Eōs is a sister of Helios, Ushas of Sūrya ; both have golden chariots. Eōs and Ushas, like Helios and Sūrya, are already known to be philologically identical. Perhaps, the commonest epithet of Ushas is 'Duhitā Divaḥ' (daughter of Dyaus ; cf. RV. I. 48. 1, 8–9 ; I. 49. 2 ; I. 113. 7 ; IV. 30. 8–9 ; IV. 51. 1, 10–11 ; IV. 52. 1 ; VII. 77. 6 ; VII. 79. 3 ; etc.). Eos is the daughter of Thia, or Theia, by Hyperiōn. The last name is philologically identical with Skt. Suparvan, which signifies 'a god'.

2. RV. VII. 80. 3.

3. Read RV. V. 69. 3 :—' प्रातर्देवीमदितिं जोहवीमि । ' cf. Matsya 139. 20 :

4. W. Crooke, *Religion*, etc., p. 71.

5. Antiquity, X. p. 265.

6. Morris Jastrow, Jr., '*Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*', 1915, p. 94.

be the goddess of unfurrowed earth or desert. No such goddess is known to India, and therefore this suggestion might appear queer. But I wish to draw attention of the reader to such a goddess in other lands, because it would reflect on the cult of Sītā especially as regards its wide-spread character. In India we know only A-lakshmī,[1] but her incarnation is not known. I connect her with the Syrian Asiti. W. Max Müller makes her out to have been a divinity of the desert (Asien und Europa, pp. 316, 317), and the place (Radesieh), in which the picture representing her was found, would seem to justify this hypothesis.; the Egyptians connected her as well as Ashtartes, with Sit-Typhon, owing to her cruel and war-like character.[2] Might be, the origin of the cult of Sītā lay in Egypt.

That Sītā was a mother goddess of sylvan prosperity is made clear more than anything else by the names of her sons Kuśa and Lava. They are definitely said to have taken their names from the upper and lower parts respectively of the sacred Kuśa grass cut by hand. Kuśa grass (Poa cynosuroides) plays an important part of the marriage ceremony of the Hindus, as is evidenced by Śri-Harsha, Bāṇa, etc.[3] Kuśa and Lava are no doubt twin off-springs of Sītā, but Kuśa is the *pūrvaja* (elder) of the two. This fact hardly needs any explanation. The upper part of a grass-blade is bound to spring up earlier than the lower part.[4]

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[1] A-lakshmī is also known as Jyeshṭhā, Nirṛiti, Śītalā, etc., who is described in :—' नमामि शीतलां देवीं रासभस्थां दिगम्बरां ।
मार्जनीकलशोपेतां शूर्पालङ्कृतमस्तकाम् ॥ '
(IHQ. XIV. 105–107). She is the same as Taḍakaḍa-tāī, the mother of goblins (a Rākshasī form of the goddess).

[2] Maspero, p. 158. It appears, however, that there is aclually a female deity of the name Asiti, in RV. Khila No. 2, st. 9. She is invoked to ward off all dangers from the reptiles.

[3] Naishadhīya, XVI. 14 :—' वरस्य पाणिः परघातकौतुकी वधूकरः पङ्कजकान्तितस्कर। : सुराज्ञि तौ तत्र विदर्भमण्डले ततो निबद्धौ किमु कर्कशैः कुशैः ॥ '

Kādambarī, (Parab) 39 f.:—
' क्वचिदचिरनिर्वृत्तविवाहभूमिरिव हरितकुशसमित्कुसुमशमीपलाशोपभोभिता । '

[4] Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa, 66. 6 f. :—
' कुशमुष्टिमुपादाय लवं चैव तु स द्विजः ।
वाल्मीकिः प्रददौ ताभ्यां रक्षां भूतविनाशिनीम् ॥
यस्तयोः पूर्वजो जातः स कुशैर्मन्त्रसत्कृतैः ।
निर्मार्जनीयस्तु तदा कुश इत्यस्य नाम तत् ॥
यश्चावरो भवेत्ताभ्यां लवेन सुसमाहितः ।
निर्मार्जनीयो वृद्धाभिर्लवेति च स नामतः ॥
एवं कुशलवौ नाम्ना तावुभौ यमजातकौ । '
Here, a commentator, named Rāma, says in his gloss, called Tilaka, the following:- ' लूनकुशानामग्रभागः कुशमुष्टिरित्युच्यते, तेषामधोभाग लव इति । ' (Parab's ed., p. 1081).

It is but natural that as a mother goddess, she should be worshipped on the top of a hill like Chitra-kūṭa,[1] just as, for instance, Rāma was worshipped on Rāma-giri.[2] But in the list of names of the Pīṭhastha-Devīs, we also find Tārā dwelling on the Mount Kiskindha.[3] This suggests to me that even Vālī and Sugrīva might be regarded as forms of the Father God. We can allow that if Vāla or Keśa stands for 'a ray', it is not impossible that Vālī like Keśī only represents the Sun-god.

We have already referred to the fact that the Earth is identified with Śrī in a Brāhmaṇa passage.[4] Her daughter Sītā was carried off by Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā. I have little doubt that this is a mere adaptation of the myth concerning Persephone or Proserpina,—the daughter of Cerēs (Roman) or Dēmētēr (Greek) the Mother Earth, — about whom we learn from Milton :—

> " Not that fair field
> Of Enna, where Proserpin, gathering flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
> Was gathered—which cost Ceres all the pain,
> To seek her thro' the world".[5]

In an important chapter of the Golden Bough, Sir J. G. Frazer deals fully with the characteristics of Demeter and Persophone, and comes to the conclusion that " figures of the two goddesses, the mother and the daughter, resolve themselves into personifications of the corn. At least this appears to be fairly certain for the daughter Persephone.".[6]

Sītā rises out of the earth. " Nowhere, perhaps, in the monuments of Greek art is the character of Persephone as a personification of the young corn sprouting in spring portrayed more gracefully and more truly than on a coin of Lampsacus of the fourth century before our era. On it we see the goddess in the very act of rising from the earth. " Here face is upraised ; in her hand are three ears of corn, and others together with grapes are springing behind her shoulder. Complete is here the identification of the goddess and her attribute : she is embowered amid the ears of growing corn, and like it half buried in the ground...". As the goddess who first bestowed corn on mankind and taught them to sow and cultivate it, Demeter was naturally invoked and propitiated by farmers before they undertook the various operations of the agricultural year."[1] It is, perhaps, unnecessary to quote further.

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[1] Matsya P., 13. 46 = Padma P., V. 17. 210.

[2] So I interpret Meghadūta, st. 12 :—आपृच्छस्व etc.

[3] Matsya P., 13. 39 = Padma P., V. (Sṛishṭi-khaṇḍa) 17. 203 :—
'जालन्धरे विश्वमुखी तारा किष्किन्धपर्वते ।'

[4] Supra, p. 123.

[5] *Paradise Lost*, iv. 268.

[6] *Spirits of the corn etc.*, p. 39

We have frequently referred to the fact that a liṅga is often represented as residing in a yoni, and that the Earth is the representative of all yonis. She is a great Yoni. Now we know that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are often called Kākut-sthas, i.e., those who reside in or are placed on Kākut. Here our great poet Kālidāsa offers a fanciful etymology ;[2] but that is on a par with another, relating to the name Umā,[3] which he seems to adopt from the Purāṇas,[4] (if indeed the latter did not borrow it from him). The Nirukta[5] includes Kākut among the seventy-five synonyms of Vāk-Aditi. Accordingly it is not difficult to interpret the term Kākut-stha in the sense of Yonistha. Ikshvāku, the family name of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, etc. may perhaps, be connected with the Babylonian word Issaku (Nisaku) meaning a prince or a chief. Lastly, according to all Indian traditions, Lakshmaṇa, though an avatāra of Vishṇu, was to be identified with Śesha (who was none but the serpent form of Vishṇu). In Babylonian mythology, Lakhmu is said to be one of the oldest gods, and lo, he is a serpent ! [6]

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[1] Ibid. p. 44-45. As shown already, Proserpina is often regarded as a sister-consort of Dionysos, who thus corresponds, in some measure to that great mythical figure Śrī Rāmachandra, whose name has charmed billions of people in India.

[2] Raghu. VI. 71.

[3] Kumāra-saṁbhava, I. 26.

[4] Matsya P., 154. 294 f.

[5] Nirukta, II. 23. 1.

[6] Wallis Budge, p. 79 ; 118 ; etc.

CHAPTER XIV

Kṛishṇa and Mahābhārata

Devakī-putra Kṛishṇa is regarded as a historical personage,[1] and, it is therefore concluded, so must naturally be his brother Bala-Rāma or Bala-deva. My conclusions might, therefore, be characterised as astounding, as they go against all accepted conventions and deep-rooted notions of Indian scholars. But we are by now well aware of the Sun being regarded as a son of the Mother Goddess ; we are also aware of Devakī being the name of a mother goddess of Mathurā, according to a passage occurring in the Matsya and Padma Purāṇas,[2] which also speaks of Vindhya-vāsinī as a mother goddess of the Vindhyas and of Sītā as that of Chitrakūṭa ; and lastly, we are aware of Kṛishṇa being identical with Vishṇu, a sun-god, i. e. Āditya—a son of Aditi. Devakī can easily be Aditi.

There are many interesting details in connection with Kṛishṇa myth: only we have to understand them in their proper light. For what is it that this Devakī-putra learns at the feet of Ghora Āṅgirasa ? It is only Madhu-vidyā,—the esoteric knowledge concerning honey-elixir, which forms a part and parcel of the beliefs relating to the Magna Mater. And who is Ghora-Āṅgirasa ? Unhappily, scholars like Dr. Rai Chaudhuri have yielded to the temptation of looking upon him as a historical person. For although in the Chhāndogya Upanishad,[3] he appears as a preceptor of Kṛishṇa, earlier texts like the Ṛig-veda recognize not a person of that name, but a clan, or at any rate a group of (mythical ?) persons belonging to the clan of the Aṅgirases : "Aṅgirasaś-cha Ghorāh".[4] Undoubtedly, Ghora Āṅgirasa is equivalent of the Avestan Aṅgro Mainyus,[5] the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas. This identification is rendered probable not merely by the fact that one is the paraphrase of the other, but also by the connection of both of them with the river Rasā or Raṅghā.

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[1] PHAI. 119 f. ; *Early Hist. Vaishṇava Sect*, p. 26-39 (1st ed.)

[2] Matsya P., XIII. 39 ; Padma P., *Sṛishṭi-khaṇḍa*, V. 17. 203 :—
'देवकी मथुरायां तु पाताले परमेश्वरी । चित्रकूटे तथा सीता विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनिवासिनी ॥'

[3] Chhāndogya Up., III. 17. 6:—
तद्धैतद्घोर आङ्गिरसः कृष्णाय देवकीपुत्रायोक्त्वा । etc.

[4] RV. X. 108. 10:—
'नाहं वेद भ्रातृत्वं नो स्वसृत्वमिन्द्रो विदुरङ्गिरसश्च घोराः ।'

[5] Similarly Kāvya Uśanas and Āyāsya appear respectively as Kava-Uś and Āyehye in the Zend. IA. 1901. 271.

In the Ṛig-veda, Saramā threatens Paṇis living beyond the river Rasā, by telling them that the Ghora Aṅgirases would be well knowing how to deal with them, unless they returned the 'gāvaḥ'. In the Vendidad I. 19, Aṅgro Mainyus is said to have created bitter cold against a republic called *aodā Raṅghāyā*.

Incidentally, I may make a few remarks in connection with this very interesting Paṇi-Saramā myth. I have little doubt that Yāska[1] and Sāyaṇa speak less than half truth, when they make Saramā only a 'heavenly bitch' (Deva-śunī). Fortunately, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa[2] preserves for us a more well-informed tradition when it includes among the names of the Mother Goddess not only Aditi, Ilā, etc. but also Diti, Danu,[3] Saramā, etc.: and this finds confirmation in different texts, like the Sabhāparva,[4] etc. Correctly speaking Saramā is only a bitch form of the Goddess, just as Vinatā is her bird form. If on a Minoan signet-ring, the Goddess herself is represented as occupying the summit of the hill, on Indian coins it is often the privilege of the bitch to do the same. And if we want to see a literal (mis-) interpretation of the myth relating to Paṇi and Saramā, we have only to read a passage in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.[5] This may, by the way, show how even earlier texts are at times comparatively useless for the correct apprehension of the Vedic myths, the meaning of which may be made clear by late Purāṇas. A Purāṇa means nothing but (a collection of) ancient lore, and the eighteen Purāṇas faithfully copy each other or earlier texts. In connection with the Paṇi-Saramā myth, the Bhāgavata Purāṇa[6] adds that the Paṇis belonged to Hiraṇya-pura (='a city of gold') in Rasātala (= the region round about the river Rasā). It also identifies them with Daiteyas or Kāleyas ; of the latter we shall speak later. It is, however, interesting to add that the Paṇis of Rasātala seem, in later account, to be perhaps missed (?) for regular serpents (Phaṇis, or Phaṇāvats of the Śisupāla-vadha).[7] The Rāmāyaṇa[8] also mentions among the inhabitants of Rasātala the Daityas and Nāgas. This is quite explicable since Paṇi in Tamil[9] stands for cobra, and is evidentally connected with the Sanskrit Phaṇi. Who should these Phaṇis of 'the city of gold' be but the gold-hunting Phœnicians ?

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[1] Nirukta, XI, 25. 1.

[2] Bhāgavata P., VI. 6. 24-26.

[3] Danu is the oldest Gallic or Celtic goddess, representing the earth and her fertility, and is identical Cymric deity Don, like whom she is the ancestress of all gods. She is " associated like all earth mothers with the under world, or the place of the dead and of growth", and human victims were sacrificed to her. She came to be identified with the constellation Cassiopeia. NCM. 57 ; 58 ; 175 ; etc. This supports our conjectures on p. 84.

[4] Sabhā. 11. 39. f. Harivaṁśa I. 3. 54 f.

[5] J. B., II. 438-440.

[6] Bhāgavata P., V. 25. 30.

[7] Siśu. III. 23.

[8] Uttarakāṇḍa, chs. 24-25.

[9] Tamil Lexicon (Madras Univ.) IV. p. 2458 ; J. Ori. Res, (Madras), XIV. i. p. 51.

And yet, everything relating to Rasātala may not be accepted as historically correct. It is no doubt worth investigating if Rasātala, said to be described in the Rāmāyaṇa, as "a flat country containing cities, palaces, lakes and mountains "[1] has anything to do with the flat, low-lying land of Canaan, with its northern and eastern regions abounding in hills and lakes. Phœnicia was only a part of Canaan, but perhaps the richest one : it was 'a land flowing in milk and honey'.

It is nevertheless worth remembering that Rasā or Surasā is always mentioned in the Purāṇas as a form of the Great Mother[1]: her progeny is called Nāgas. She is after all the Queen of all serpents. Rasā-tala, therefore, reminds us of Ilā-vṛita, and both these countries, named after the Earth Goddess, might possibly denote some region on the surface of the earth ; and they may not be far removed from each other, since we are informed that "Rasā-tala was close to the Sumeru mountain".[2]

To return to Kṛishṇa and Ghora Aṅgirasa. It need not be argued that because Ghora Aṅgirases are said to be able to invade the land of Paṇis, or because the Nāgas are said to dwell in Rasā-tala, they should be necessarily historical beings. For in that way, it is easy to demonstrate that Saramā (a messenger of the Aṅgirases) and Surabhi (who lives in Rasā-tala along with the Nāgas) were also living beings. In later times, no doubt, there were clans bearing both these names, Aṅgirases and Nāgas, among whom myths relating to the bitch and cow forms of the Goddess may have been popular.

Now, Kṛishṇa is referred to in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as having seven mothers,[3] a characteristic, which, as shown above, is easily explicable with reference to the Sun-god. In the Matsya Purāṇa, they are mentioned as 'seven sisters'[4] (svasāraḥ sapta) of Devavān and other sons of Devaka, a brother of Ugrasena. All these sisters were wedded to Vasu-deva, whose name may mean nothing more than ‘a god of light’. Vasu-deva can then represent only a sun-god, and according to the Harivaṁśa, he is a form of Kaśyapa;[1] it is easy for such a god to become his own son, just as Ra was of Osiris. “And who, but Aditi, can bear thee in her womb, oh Vishṇu?”[2] Purāṇas guarantee the identity of Devakī with Aditi as of Rohiṇī with Surabhi.

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[1] Dey, p. 7.

[2] Ibid. p. 10 ; Moulton, p. 131, identifies Raṅghā with Tigris, N. Dey, p. 8, with Jaxartes. We may support Moulton's conjecture.

[3] Bhāgavata P., I. 12. 28 f. :—
प्रविष्टस्तु गृहं पित्रो: परिष्वक्त: स्वमातृभि: ।
ववन्दे शिरसा सप्त देवकीप्रमुखा मुदा ॥ ता: पुत्रमङ्कमारोप्य etc. ॥

[4] Matsya P., 44. 72 f.

I propose to identity this Devakī-Aditi with the Chaldæan Goddess “Dam-kina, Dav-kina, the Δαυκη′ of the Greek transcription”, “one of the few goddesses who was recognized almost unanimously by all Assyriologists ... as representing the Earth ... her name Damki is so compounded that it signifies literally “the mistress of the earth”.[3] She is the goddess of the underworld and is called the ‘lady of the house of death’.

The identification of Bel-Marduk with Bala-Rāma + Kṛishṇa, as that of Dam-ki or Dav-kina with Devakī, is confirmed by the fact that Dav-kina is the mother of Bel-Marduk, just as Devakī is of Kṛishṇa. Dav-kina (or Ninella) appears as the spouse of Ea, the divine master of law, who, we have seen, is the legitimate father of Ba'al. According to Hopkins, the “early epic says that Devī, ‘the eldest wife’ of the god (= Varuṇa) ... bore him a son Bala.”[4] No doubt Dam-ki has assumed two forms in India, Devakī and Devī.

Ea as a supreme god might assume various forms and might appear as Sin, Anu or Bel in the Chaldæan pantheon. “Anu reigned in the province of Bel or of Ea as he ruled in his own; Bel joined to his own authority that of Anu and Ea; Ea treated Anu and Bel with the same absence of ceremony which they had shown to him, and added their supremacy to his own ... Anu took to himself whatever of the temperaments of Bel and of Ea, and the latter in exchange borrowed from him many personal traits".[1] We can say with confidence that herein lies the origin of the so-called Henotheism or Kathenotheism observable in the Ṛigveda.[2] The various deites in the Vedas like Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, Ushas, Aditi, Bhāratī, etc., are only different forms of the Father God and the Mother Goddess, variously known as Ākāśa and Pṛithivī, Sat and Asat, Purusha and Prakṛiti, whose ultimate unity is without doubt recognized by the texts. This conception does not essentially differ from the modern Hindu idea, which while praising one deity would place it above all others, attributing to it qualities of other divinities. And yet, as in the Vedic days, the fundamental unity of all gods, or rather the existence of one Supreme Almighty (besides whom no one exists), is no doubt recognized. The same conception was prevalent not only in Chaldæa, but also in Egypt. But being baffled by the diverse aspects of the same God, various religious reformers have looked upon them as different deities and wished to destroy them in favour of one of these forms. This is, perhaps, what Amenophes (or Amenhotep) IV did in Egypt in the 14th century B. C., and Paigambara Muhammad did in Arabia about two thousand years later. The former raised the Sun-god under the name of Aton to the position of the supreme deity, the Creator of the world ; the latter elevated Allah, a lunar form of the Mother Goddess, to the unique position of the Almighty ! Many noteworthy religious reformers in India have sought to do the same, again and again ; but, while seeking to reform the primitive religion, all have, in one way or the other, equally misunderstood it.

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[1] Harivaṁśa, I. 55. 21 f.:—

‘पुरा हि कश्यपो विष्णो वरुणस्य महात्मनः ।
जहार यज्ञिया गा वै पयोदाः सुमहामखे ॥
अदितिः सुरभिश्चैते द्वे भार्ये कश्यपस्य तु ।
प्रदीयमाना गास्तास्तु नेच्छेतां वरुणस्य वै ॥
...गवां कारणतत्त्वज्ञः कश्यपे शापमुत्सृजम् ।
...स तस्य कश्यपस्यांशस्तेजसा कश्यपोपमः ।
वसुदेव इति ख्यातो गोषु तिष्ठति भूतले ।
...तस्य भार्याद्वयं जातमदितिः सुरभिश्च ते ।
देवकी रोहिणी चेमे वसुदेवस्य धीमतः ।
सुरभी रोहिणी देवी चादितिर्देवकी त्वभूत् ॥’

For ‘vasu’ in the sense of ‘light’, see Śāśvata-kośa, st. 9; etc.

[2] Harivaṁśa, I. 55. 48:—

‘का च धारयितुं शक्ता त्वां विष्णो अदितिं विना ।’

[3] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 645.

[4] Hopkins, p. 120.

In view of this queer mixture of Pantheism and Henotheism observable in most of the religions of the ancient world, to reject the above-given identifications on the ground that Devakī is not represented in the Purāṇas as a wife of Varuṇa (= Yādaḥpati), if Dam-ki or Dav-kina is of Ea, would be sheer perversity of critical scholarship.

At this stage, it might not be out of place, I believe, to allude to an interesting tale in the Hindu mythology, and point out its striking similarity to a Greek legend. I refer to a story in connection with Lord Kṛishṇa and Kaṁsa, which offers almost an exact parallel to the Greek myth relating to Zeus and Kronos (or Cronus).[3] Rhea-Agdistis, the mother of Zeus, was a mother goddess and was a sister to Kronos. Kṛishṇa's mother Devakī, an incarnation of Aditi according to Harivaṁśa,[1] was also a sister to Kaṁsa. It was prophesied by Gaia and the starry Ouranos that Kronos would be murdered by an issue of his sister.[2] A similar prophecy existed in the case of Kaṁsa too.[3] Kronos was advised to kill the offsprings of his sister, and so was Kaṁsa.[4] Both of them, therefore, murdered (Kronos by swallowing them up) six offsprings of the Mother Goddess (Devakī[5] or Rhea). Zeus was the youngest offspring of Rhea, according to Hesiod's account and Cretan tradition.[6] Kṛishṇa was Devakī's youngest child according to Harivaṁśa. Rhea outwitted Kronos with the help of Gaia (also a mother

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[1] Ibid. [2] Macdonell, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 71 (1917).

[3] For Cronus and Zeus, read D. C. A., p. 167 ; 703 ; 639 ; etc.

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1. Harivaṁśa, I. 55. 37 f.
2. A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, Vol. III, p. 928.
3. Harivaṁśa, II. i. 16 :—

   तत्रैषा देवकी या ते मथुरायां लघुस्वसा ।
   योऽस्या गर्भोऽष्टमः कंस स ते मृत्युर्भविष्यति ॥
4. Ibid. II. i. 19 :—

   'यत्नश्च क्रियतां कंस देवक्या गर्भकृन्तने ।'
5. Ibid. II. ii. 23–33 :—

   'षडेव देवकीगर्भाः षड्गर्भा वै महासुराः ।
   भविष्यथ ततः कंसो गर्भस्थान्वो वधिष्यति ॥२३॥...
   षड्गर्भान्देवकीगर्भे योजयस्व यथाक्रमम् ॥२८॥
   जातेष्वेतेषु गर्भेषु नीतेषु च यमक्षयम् ।
   कंसस्य विफले यत्ने देवक्याः सफले श्रमे ॥२९॥...
   सप्तमो देवकीगर्भो योंशस्सौम्यो ममाग्रजः ।
   स संक्रमयितव्यस्ते सप्तमे मासि रोहिणीम् ॥३१॥
   संकर्षणात्तु गर्भस्य स तु संकर्षणो युवा ।
   भविष्यत्यग्रजो भ्राता मम शीतांशुदर्शनः ॥३२॥
   पतितो देवकीगर्भस्सप्तमोयं भयादिति ।
   अष्टमे मयि गर्भस्थे कंसो यत्नं करिष्यति ॥३३॥

   Ibid. II. iv. 2 :—

   'षड्गर्भान्निःमृतान्कंसस्तान्जघान शिलातले ॥
   आपन्नं सप्तमं गर्भं सा निनायाथ रोहिणीम् ।'

   Also, Matsya, P. 46. 12 f. Vishṇu P., IV. 15. 15–17 ; Agni P., XII. 4 .

   In Indian mythology, Zeus has assumed two forms, viz., Kṛishṇa and Bala-Rāma. If Gaia corresponds to Yaśodā, as we have shown above, the divine goat Amalthea stands for Rohiṇī, who according to a Harivaṁśa passage, quoted already, was an incarnation of Surabhi, the divine cow. Zeus is said to have been brought up by Amalthea, Bala-Rāma by Rohiṇī. Under the constellation of Rohiṇī, Agnyādhāna (= Garbhādhāna) is ordained in the Brāhmaṇas — which leaves no doubt as to her character as a goddess of fertility (cf. T. B., I. i. 10. 1-6 ; III. i. 4. 2 ; etc.). Rohiṇī is indeed described there as the all-domineering (Virāt) daughter of Prajāpati (Sky Father), and is identified with Rohit (a doe or a red mare). A horn of Amalthea is said to have been placed by Zeus among the stars. SCD. 35.
6. A. B. Cook's Zeus III. p. 928 f.

goddess), at the time of the birth of Zeus, to save the latter. Devakī outwitted Kaṁsa with the help of Yaśodā[1] at the time of Kṛishṇa's birth to save him. Immediately he was born, Zeus was secretly removed from the place of his birth to huge, 'broad-bosomed' Gaia: Kṛishṇa was likewise removed to Yaśodā to be brought up by her. If Kronos had Titans on his side, Kaṁsa had his Mallas like Chāṇūra and Mushṭika.[2] But in spite of them, both the prophecies were fulfilled; both Kronos and Kaṁsa were murdered and their prisoners set free. Each of them had overthrown his father, and had himself occupied the throne in his life-time: they both suffered the penalty.

And if among the sisters of Zeus appear forms of the Great Mother, e. g. Hera and Demeter, certainly at least one of Kṛishṇa's sisters, called Mahāmāyā, Yoganidrā, Kṛishṇā or Nārāyaṇī,[3] is acknowledged on all hands to have been the Great Mother. But if you ask my opinion, I would put down Draupadī, also known as Kṛishṇā, (an epithet which betrays her connection with Rātri or Kāla-rātri or Kālī) as his sister; for, indeed, she professed to be so.

I have purposely not referred to the fact that in the Greek mythology Rhea is (in addition to being a sister) also a wife of Kronos, and Hēra of Zeus. For this requires some comments which I propose to give a little later. But about Hera, we learn:—"Hera seems originally to have symbolised the feminine aspects of the natural forces of which Zeus is the masculine representative. Hence she is at once his wife and his sister, shares his power and his honours, and, like him, has the authority over the phenomena of atmosphere. It is she who sends clouds and storms, and is mistress of the thunder and the lightning ... Like Zeus, men worship her on mountains, and pray to her for rain. The *union of sun and rain*, which wakes the earth to renewed fertility, is symbolised as the loving *union of Zeus and Hera* ... She is ... the goddess of marriage and protectress of purity in married life ... The cuckoo was sacred to her as the messenger of spring, the season in which she was wedded to Zeus; so were the peacock and the crow".[4] We see here that Zeus, as a counterpart of Hera, was looked upon as a sun-god, like Kṛishṇa. I may place here for comparison with this description of Hera the following details about Kṛishṇa-Nārāyaṇa's sister Kṛishṇā-Nārāyaṇī (just a feminine aspect of that god), culled from a chapter in the Harivaṁśa :—She is Devī, the Mistress of the three worlds, and is identical with twilight, night, Śrī, Vidyā (=Goddess of learning), etc. Worshipped on mountain-tops or in caves, she has for her emblem the peacock's feathers, and her vicinity is full of cocks, goats, ewes and lions, all of which are undoubtedly sacred to her. She is a sister of Baladeva : She is Revatī. She is the goddess of virginity for damsels, and of married happiness (Saubhāgya) for married women. She is Pārvatī, she is Sāvitrī, she is Lakshmī : she is many other things, for she is everything.[1] But we shall not refer to all that she is at this place.

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[1] 'माधवी मथुरायां च देवकी यादवेश्वरी। वृन्दा गोपेश्वरी राधा रासवृन्दावने रमा।... वज्रेश्वरी यशोदेति... ।' Mahānīla-tantra, 5th Paṭala (Vāchaspatya, III. 3038f.)

[2] Harivaṁśa II. 30.

[3] Vishṇu P., IV. 15-16; Harivaṃśa II. iii. 1f; etc.

[4] D. C. A., p, 278-279. Italics ours.

This proves the identity of Hera (daughter of Oceanus[2]) and Nārāyaṇī alias Vāruṇī. She appears in the Mahābhārata as a daughter of Varuṇa and a sister of Bala-bhadra.[3] Regarding Zeus and Kṛishṇa, there are many other points of similarity, including the diverting fact that both of them are in their own provinces veritable protagonists of polygamy. If Zeus had his eagle as a sacred emblem, Kṛishṇa had his Garuḍa. "On the coins of Elis an eagle appears as a substitute for the god (Zeus); later he bears an eagle in his hand."[4] So also it has happened in the case of Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu : in earlier times he was identified with Pataṅga, Suparṇa or Garutmān ; later,—whether on account of Greek influence or otherwise, one does not know,—the bird becomes his vehicle and an emblem. Zeus is identified with the sacred Oak ; Kṛishṇa himself tells us in his Gītā (!) that he is of all trees to be identified with Aśvattha.[5] If Amalthea, that suckles Zeus, is only a goat form of the Divine Mother, then why should not Pūtanā,[6] who also suckles Kṛishṇa, be—as the texts rightly assert—a bird form of the Celestial Goddess? The Harivaṁśa Purāṇa seems to suggest that Pūtanā was conceived as identical with the Night-goddess (Rātri), who is described in some Vedic passages as giving birth to her son the Sun-god. Lastly, as gods of fertility, both of them were entitled to dedication by women of their persons. For a detailed description of the amorous dalliance of the beloved of Gopikās, one has only to refer to the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa (II. 20) or to that excellent lyric, the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva.[1]

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[1] Harivaṁśa, II. iii. 1-25. (See Appendix B) ; cf. Mbh. VI. 23. 4 f.; IV. 6. 7 f.

[2] So Homer. Hērē is the same as क्षीरसागरकन्यका or Śrī. Vide infra, 175.

[3] Hopkins, p. 120. Compare Meghadūta, st. 49 :—
हित्वा हालामभिमतरसां रेवतीलोचनाङ्कां etc.

[4] ERE. XII. 139 f.

[5] Vide supra, 100; "Both Greeks and Italians associated the (Oak) tree with their highest God, Zeus or Jupiter." (*The Magic Art*, etc., II. 358 f.). If in India, every king is identified with Vishṇu [ना विष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः], "in ancient days, every Greek king was called Zeus" (Ibid. 177).

[6] Sabhā-parva. 41. 4-7; Nīlakaṇṭha's com.; Harivaṁśa, II, iii. 22 ; II. vi. 22 f :—
"कस्यचित्त्वथ कालस्य शकुनी वेषधारिणी ।
धात्री कंसस्य भोजस्य पूतनेति परिश्रुता ॥
पूतना नाम शकुनी घोरा प्राणभयङ्करी ।
आजगामार्द्धरात्रे वै पक्षौ क्रोधाद्विधुन्वती ॥

By his numerous wives, legal and illegal, Zeus had many children, perhaps the most famous of whom was Apollo. He was

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ततोऽर्द्धरात्रसमये पूतना प्रत्यदृश्यत।
व्याघ्रगम्भीरनिर्घोषं व्याहरन्ती पुनः पुनः ॥
निलिल्ये शकटस्याक्षे (v. L. टाक्षे सा) प्रस्नवोत्पीडवर्षिणी।
ददौ स्तनं च कृष्णाय तस्मिन्सुप्ते जने निशि।
तस्याः स्तनं पपौ कृष्णः प्राणैः सह विनद्य च ॥ ''
' पूतना रेवती गौरी कालरात्री तु या स्मृता। '

Purushārtha-chintāmaṇī (Anandaśram ed.), p. 89.

[1] We have already referred to the identity of Ba'al, Hadad, Sandas and Zeus. Sandas was often "figured beside Baal and Mylitta or Astarte", just as Kṛishṇa is not seldom represented in India beside Bala and Subhadrā (or Yogamāyā ?). K. O. Müller says that Sardan combined in himself "the extreme voluptuousness and sensuality" with "miraculous force and heroic strength", and he adduces some proof to show that at Nineveh this god "was exhibited as a buxom figure with womanish features" (*The Scape-goat*, p. 389–390). Kṛishṇa is represented in a very similar way, and has a like character.

The beautiful Adonis was looked upon, like Ba'al, as a lover of Ashtarte-Ishtar, in Syria and Phœnicia, and there appears to me to be some affinity between him and the beloved of Rādhikā who was sometimes equated with Bala or Kāmapāla. For we learn that " in the night of the festival in honour of the good goddess (Ashtarte-Ishtar) when she met her lover, there was an indescribable sexual license and orgy, amounting to nymphomonia, satyriasis and prostitution combined, accompanied by indecent song, music and dances. Not only virgins, but married women as well, accept the proposal of any stranger that offer them money, not only once as in Babylon, but as many times as they are asked and paid for and with this money they buy one Liṅgam – the countless thousands of which are hung round the body of the goddess, of all sizes and of different metals,..., and each woman has to take one home and worship it for the year." (*The Origin of the Cross*, p. 22–23). About the devotees of Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu known as the Nāmadhārīs, we learn that they " eat all kinds of meat ostentatiously, and drink... without scruple or shame. Excesses of all kinds are laid to their charge, and it is amongst them [?] that that most abominable rite called *Śakti-pūjā* is practiced." (Dubois, p. 114). The *nāmadhārīs* are pronounced to be the most frequent perpetrators of certain disgusting sacrificial rites. " The least disgusting of these orgies are those where they confine themselves to eating and drinking everything that the custom of the country forbids, and where men and women, huddled together in indiscriminate confusion openly and shamelesly violate the commonest laws of decency and modesty." (Ibid. p. 286).

born of Lēto (Lātōna),—according to a legend set forth by Homer and Callimachus,—at the foot of Mount *Cynthos* or *Kunthos* in the island of Delos. Apollo was a " god of light " and " of prolific power ",—a sun-god, to be invoked at weddings to confer progeny and to care for youthful and handsome appearance in the groom. He was in fact a god of love and beauty, and to him dolphin was sacred. He was *Hersos*, " sender of the fertilizing dew ".[1] A story is told of his penitent nature and his penance (by way of servitude for seven years) in connection with a sinful act, he had committed. He may represent only an aspect of Eros, the Gk. god of love.

Now Lord Kṛishṇa was no less virile than Zeus, for, inspite of his numerous illicit love-affairs, he too had quite abundant progeny, of whom two are well-known, to wit, Pradyumna and Sāmba.[2] Pradyumna, also known as Madana or Mīnaketana or Makara-dhvaja (' Fish-bannered ' or ' Dolphin-bannered ') is the Indian god of love ; while Sāmba is looked upon as an incarnation of the Sun-god, and a story of penance (though based on a different topic) is told in his connection. The Dolphin-seated Eros and Apollo correspond to Pradyumna and Sāmba, respectively. And I surmise, these must have been originally born in Vaikuṇṭha and not in Dwaraka, for the simple reason that neither Kṛishṇa nor any of his wives ever lived in flesh and blood in Dwaraka ! Mt. Kunthos is a reality, and is known to have been formerly crowned by the temple of Zeus Kunthios and Athena Kunthia. Vaikuṇṭha of Kṛishṇa is known only to him and to his devotees ! In Indian literature, it may not be more than a hazy notion, perhaps referring to a forgotten past. Did some of the Indian tribes,—some of the Mediterranean-Draviḍians,—come from that side ? The non-Indo-European (and hence, non-Greek) people, said to be responsible for some Aegean place-names ending in *-nthos*,[1] are supposed to belong to 'original Cretans'. Who were they ?

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[1] E. B. 11th ed. II. 184. i. As if, Apollo combines in himself Pradyumna and Sāmba.

[2] Agni P., XII. 36 :—
' कृष्णाच्छाम्बो जाम्बवत्यामन्यास्वन्येऽभवन्सुता : । प्रद्युम्नोऽभूच्च रुक्मिण्यां...॥ '
Vishṇu P., IV. 15. 21 :—
' (श्रीकृष्णपुत्राणां च) प्रद्युम्नचारुदेष्णसाम्बाख्यास्त्रय प्रधानाः । '
Read Vishṇu P., V. 27, and 28, or Agni P., XII. 36 f., where the charming story of the love between Pradumna and his motherly Rati is told. Again the Mother is dominant and she covets him ; and again the Father is his own son. (Compare, Bhāgavata P., X. 55. 1 f ; X. 61. 7 f.). Pradyumna appears among the twenty-four names of Vishṇu in Sandhyā-mantra. It is rather late that I become aware of Pradyumna's identity with Eros (Latin Amor or Cupido), who was placed on a dolphin and sometimes represented as a son of Zeus. "He is the usual companion of his mother Aphrodite." SCD. 208.

We shall try to offer our own solution to this problem later. But we have up till now noticed quite a large number of cases in which Indian gods marry their own sisters. Indeed, this relation of a sister-consort with father-gods like Rudra, Agni, Yama, Rāma, Bala-Rāma Pūshan, Indra, etc., is a queer characteristic of the Indian Mother Goddess. Its very disappearance in later times may, *perhaps*, show that it was unnatural to Indian soil. In fact, a Ṛig-vedic verse avers that, he is a miscreant who copulates with his sister ;[2] and most of the afore-mentioned male divinities (sun-gods) are said to be ' violators ' (jāra) of their sister, the Magna Mater, who is pre-eminently a moon-goddess. Her chief relation to them is not that of a spouse, but that of a sister.[3] Sister-marriage is not unknown to Buddhist tradition in India, as is proved not only by the Daśaratha-jātaka, but by a story in the Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī,[4] wherein four sons of an Okkāka king are said to have married their four sisters at Kapila-vatthu. The mythical origin of the Lichchhavis given by a commentary is only an additional proof.[5]

This anomalous relation between the Father God and the Mother Goddess is observable in many Greek deities as well ; and there it has been ultimately traced,—and so far as I can judge, rightly—to Egyptian influence. Nay, even the custom of marrying their own daughters, that is found in so many early Indian, Greek and other male divinities, is also due to certain customs prevailing amongst the ancient Egyptians, and to the same fact must be traced,

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[1] Vide supra, p. 24. In spite of our suggestions, there is no reason to forget that the " oldest epigraphic form of the name of Apollo is Aplu, which corresponds to the Semitic Ablu, the "son" of heaven, which was one of the titles of Tammuz, the Syrian sun-god." (I. Taylor, p. 304). Ablu reminds me of Babhru (an epithet of Agni in RV.) who is equated with Vishṇu in the Mbh. (cf. Hopkins, p. 64). As shown above, both Agni and the Sun-god appear in the Vedas as sons of heaven, and are identical. Note the Cretan name Abellio for the sun-god. But, for Babhru we may more probably have a Semitic equivalent in Babbar rather than in Ablu. Babbar was a sun god of Lassa (Sumer).

[2] RV. X. 10. 12 :— ' पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात्। '

[3] ' सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा। '
—RV. II. 32. 6 = AV. VII. 46. 1 = YV. 34. 10 = TS. III. i. 11. 3 = Nirukta XI. 32. 1.

Selene, the Greek moon-goddess was a sister of Helios, just as Artemis was of Apollo, or Ishtar of Shamash.

[4] Pt. I, p. 258-260 ; I. H. Q., II. p. 563.

[5] I. H. Q., II. 563.

I believe, the institution of Putrikā-putra, which is known to the Ṛigveda[1] and some other early works, but has disappeared in later times. " A union of father and daughter ... was not wholly forbidden "[2] in Egypt, and if E. de Rouge is to be believed in, Rameses II married at least two of his daughters, viz. Buit Anati and Honittui (in addition to his three sisters, Nofrītari II, Mīmūt, and Isītnofrīt). " The Achæmenian kings did the same: Artaxerxes married two of his own daughters " according to Plutarch.[3] Zarathushtra sanctioned the marriage with one's sister.

Among the Egyptians, a matrimonial alliance between a brother and a sister was " regarded as perfectly right and natural " and the words " brother " and " sister " possess in Egyptian love-songs the same significance as " lover " and " mistress " have with us.[4] Such brother-and-sister marriages were very common even " long after the Romans had obtained a firm footing " in that country. In this respect, Egyptian influence is traceable in the Greek custom, which " allowed of marriage between half-brother and half-sister, when not descended from the same mother ". Even among the ancient Jews, Abraham is known to have married his half-sister, just as Amram married his father's sister. Matrimony between a full brother and a full sister is known even in the early history of China, especially among the royal pairs like Fu Hsi and Nu-wa (or Nu-kua), the founders of the institution of marriage according to the Chinese. It is supposed that this custom was borrowed by the Chinese from the Sumerians, along with the rest of their early civilisation.

The Yezidis, an Arabian tribe of whom we shall later on learn a little more, "unite in darkness without heed as to adultery or incest", and the Kadiaks mate " indiscriminately, brothers with sisters and parents with children ".[7] Similar customs prevailed among the ancient Irish, the Chippeways, etc.

These customs then possibly did not originate in a country in which they were so much abhorred : their cradle was not India.

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1. Vide supra, p. 81–82, 84, etc. RV. III. 31. 1 :—
   ' शासद्वह्निर्दुहितुर्नप्त्यं गाद् विद्वाँ ऋतस्य दीधितिं सपर्यन्।
   पिता यत्र दुहितुः सेकमृञ्जन् त्सं शग्म्येन मनसा दधन्वे ॥ '
   Cf. Nirukta III. 4. 1 ; Sāyaṇa on RV. I. 164. 33.
2. *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 50–51.
3. Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, § 27 ; *Dawn etc. p.* 50 f.
4. Ibid.
5. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 396 f.
6. D. C. A., p. 377.
7. Saṁśodhaka, VI. iv, p. 210–212.

They could not find a very firm footing in a nation, which was altogether unused to those abominable practices: In Egypt, they could be no novelty. We know this from some of the earliest instances of marriages in that country. If we admit this all, we can recognize that at least certain aspects of 'civilisation' spread from the West to the East.

I, therefore, think it probable that certain customs obtaining among the ancient Arabians and the people of Southern India, which are looked upon at least as 'queer' elsewhere, are due to cultural, if not ethnic, migration from Egypt (Kemi or Kemet). It was customary for an ancient Arabian to marry his or her paternal cousin of the first degree: it was not only a natural thing, but almost an obligatory one. This practice survives till today amongst the Muslims of many countries, as they have borrowed most of their customs from the ancient Arabians. An analogous custom prevails in South India, where people,—whether they belong to the so-called Draviḍian or Aryo-Draviḍian race, or whether they come from the so-called proto-Australoid or pre-Draviḍian stock,—frequently give preference to marriages with the maternal uncle's daughter. It seems to be prevalent there almost from ages, and finds its first mention perhaps in the Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra,[1] where marriage with a paternal aunt's daughter is also mentioned. Reminiscences of this latter custom—a rare phenomenon even in South India,—are perhaps to be seen in the fact that among the Ḍeśasthas, a bride addresses her father-in-law as 'Māmā' or Māmanjī, i. e. 'maternal uncle'. Yadu, son of Haryaśva, is said to have married his paternal aunt's daughters (Harivaṁśa, II. 37. 63-4), according to law. The other custom, mentioned by Baudhāyana, seems to have been far more popular even in ancient times,[2] so that a Kumārila could easily taunt his southern countryman with being pleased at obtaining maternal uncle's daughter for his wife.[3]

It is admitted that *achchi* in Malyali, *att-ei* in Tamil, *att-e* in Canerese, *att-a* in Telgu (and may I add *āttyā* or *ātte* in Marathi), meaning 'a paternal aunt', are deṛived from *atti* or *atta* meaning 'a mother'.[1] These words originally refer to a period when a mother was also 'a paternal aunt'—a custom which was prevalent in Egypt. Another relic of Egyptian borrowal is, perhaps, traceable in certain states of the western coast of Madras Presidency (e. g., Cochin, Travancore), where royalty is conferred jointly on brother and sister (which practice was in vogue in Egypt) who, however, do not marry. The children of the queen become heirs to the throne though her husband is only an ordinary subject. We may remember that maternal descent was the only one openly acknowledged and legally recognized in ancient Egypt. Also, the "affiliation of the child was indicated by the name of the mother alone";[2] in S. India too, many of the Sātavāhana kings, for instance, called themselves after their mother. Now, Herodotus[3] says that the Lycians "have one custom peculiar to themselves in which they differ from all nations; for they take the name from their mothers, and not from their fathers". He adds that they reckon their ancestry in the female line. Herodotus did not know that they had borrowed this custom, which was not so very peculiar as he thought, from the Egyptians, though a modern historian has to be necessarily aware of this fact. Polybius informs about its currency among the Locrians.

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[1] B. D. S., I. i. 19:—'मातुल-पितृस्वसृ-दुहितृगमनम्।'

[2] 'उदूह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः।'
—Śukra-nīti IV. 548 f.; Vyavahāra-kalpa-taru IX; Vyavahāra-mayūkha IV; Vyavahāra-saṅkhyā VI; Vyavahāra-prakāśa XXII; Bṛihaspati as quoted in Pāraskara-G. S., (Venkatesvar ed.) p. 496.

[3] Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, *Tantra-vārtika*:—
'स्वमातुलसुतां प्राप्य दाक्षिणात्यस्तु तुष्यति।'

The worship of Hadad-Rimmon extended among the Semites under his title Dāda, Dad or Dodo. "Dido, in fact, was the consort of the Sun-god, conceived as Tammuz...and was the presiding deity of Carthage."[4] A Moabite stone informs that the northern Israelites worshipped Dodo or Dod by the side of Yahweh or as identical with him. The title Dod-i, referring to the Lord (in Isaiah, v. 1), is supposed to signify, 'my beloved'. Herein lies probably the origin of the words Dādā (Hindustani, Marathi and Bengali, meaning 'an elder brother'), and Didi and Diddā (Bengali and Kashmiri respectively, meaning 'a sister'). Perhaps, originally they signified nothing more than 'beloved ones', and were applied to husband and wife, though later they changed their meanings.

Again, there is a considerable body of evidence to prove that the Semites of Arabia had "passed through matriarchal stage of society". "In such a society, the chief deity of the tribe must have been conceived as a counterpart of the human matriarch. Male divinities might exist and be known as 'maternal uncle', but they would not be called 'father'".[5] In India, Kaṁsa's original character as Kṛishṇa's father is not recognized. and he has become his maternal uncle, a fact which becomes easily explicable if this myth passed through Arabia. Is this not all a proof which supports the hypothesis that these myths migrated eastward and that they were not originated in India? I feel, it would be a hopeless, though not an unpatriotic, attempt to trace these traditions etc., in a reverse direction. Needless to add that these contentions find corroboration in our conjectures regarding Arvāvat and Parāvat. More corroboration we shall find in the last chapter.

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[1] Caldwell, l. c., p. 498.

[2] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 50–51.

[3] Herod., I. 172.

[4] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 56.

[5] *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 151; Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 397.

But who was Arjuna,—a constant associate of Kṛishṇa and a husband of Kṛishṇā-Drupadī? I have little doubt that if Draupadī is a mother goddess, Arjuna can well be a father god. The privilege of being the husband of a mother goddess is denied to anybody except a father god. Kronos(= Kaṁsa), brother-consort of Rhea, was, in the opinion of those well-versed in classical mythology, a sky father, a bestower of dew, a god of harvest and fertility, a Time-god, etc.[1] In India, this mythical aspect of Kaṁsa has disappeared : so has it in the case of Arjuna. It is, however, worth while remembering that Arjuna appears in the Epic mythology as a son of Indra (Indra-putra), while in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[2] Arjuna is said to be only another name of Indra ; just as Kumāra appears in later literature as a name of a son of Rudra-Śiva-Bhava, whereas it is mentioned in the same Brāhmaṇa, only as a name of Agni.[3] The basic idea in such cases seems to be this: All the aspects of the Great God are to be looked upon as forms emanating from his divine personality, and have therefore to be regarded as his sons. We have here to take into account Atharva-vedic description of Rohita, the ruddy sun (of the morning), as Arjuna (white) and as an offspring of the dark Night (Kṛishṇā Rātriḥ).[4] It is again worth noting that Arjunī appears in the Ṛigveda as well as in the Nirukta as a synonym of Ushas.[5] Ushas, we have seen, is Aditi herself.[6] Again at one place Pṛithivī is called Arjunī.[7] Moreover,

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[1] D. C. A., p. 167–168 ;

[2] Mbh. I. 63. 116. Ś. B., II. i. 2. 11. = V. iv. 3. 7 :—'अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रः ।' This brilliant guess originally belongs to Haṁsa-rāja, Vedic Kośa, p. 43 ; 84 ; etc. It is substantiated by me with proof, which may not be altogether nigligible.

[3] Ś. B., VI. i. 3. 18.

[4] A. V., XIII. 3. 26 :—

'कृष्णायाः पुत्रो अर्जुनो रात्र्या वत्सोऽजायत ।
स ह द्यामधि रोहति रुहो रुरोह रोहितः ॥'

[5] RV. I. 49. 3 ; Nirukta, II. 18. 3.

[6] Supra, 153 ; 102 ; etc.

[7] RV. V. 84. 2.

Ushas is frequently called Maghonī,[1] thus confirming the conjecture that Maghavan is the same as Arjuna the white aspect of the Sun-god. Dhanaṁjaya, a distinguishing appellation of Arjuna in the Epic, is given to Indra in the Ṛigveda.[2] Arjuna is no doubt entitled to marry Kṛishṇā [Night or Draupadī], (who is his mother and also in a way his sister), if he is an aspect of the Sun; for the latter is the real culprit, a violater of his mother and a ravisher of his sister.[3] If Arjuna marries Kṛishṇā, Kṛishṇa can marry Arjunī (a feminine aspect of Arjuna) according to some Purāṇas. At least, this must be granted that Arjuna marries a sister of Kṛishṇa, Subhadrā, whose name often appears in Purāṇic lists of Devī's titles.[4] Subhadrā may be only an aspect of Bhadra-kālī or Kāla-rātri.

Indeed, there is a Ṛig-vedic tradition, which should make clear the meaning of the above given passages. It says :—"Different are the forms which Yamyā or Yamī assumes : one of them is lustrous, another is black (=Kṛishṇa). These two black and shining (or perhaps, tawny) sisters are (only) a great Asuratva (miracle ?) of gods."[5] Ushas is only a part of the Night, instead of whom, therefore, she might be represented at times as the mother of the white sun-god,[6] One is, however, at liberty to conceive of Ushas as a daughter of Rātri and a sister of Sūrya.[7] Or, one may refer to two Ushases, meaning thereby the Night and Ushas (as in RV. I. 188. 6).

This helps us to solve that great puzzle regarding the Black Sun, viz. Kṛishṇa, as an avatāra of Vishṇu. How could the Sun be called Black ? The above given passages however make it clear that Kṛishṇā was the Night and Arjunī the Dawn aspect of the Mother Goddess, Yamyā or Yamī. So Arjuna can be the morning sun ; naturally Kṛishṇa has to be the sun of night. This Dark Sun was

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1. RV. I. 48. 8 ; I. 124. 10 ; III. 61. 1, 4 ; IV. 51. 3 ; V. 79. 4, 6, 7 ; VII. 75. 5 ; VII. 77. 4 ; VII. 78. 4 ; VII. 79. 3 ; etc.
2. RV. III. 42. 6 ; cf. RV. V. 42. 7; last st. of RV. III. 34 to 36, 38, 39, 43 etc.
3. RV. VI. 55. 5 = Nirukta III. 16. 6.
4. Cf. Kūrma P., *Pūrvabhāga*, XII. 167:—' सुभद्रा देवकी सीता वेदवेदाङ्गपारगा । '
5. RV. III. 55. 11 :— ' नाना चक्राते यम्या वपूंषि तयोरन्यद्रोचते कृष्णमन्यत् ।
   श्यावी च यदरुषी च स्वसारौ महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ॥ '

The Nirukta rightly explains the word 'arushī' as 'rocha-mānā'. (Nirukta, XII. vii. 1). It takes 'asuratva' in the sense of 'prajñā-vattva' or 'anna-vattva' (X. 34. 1). Rātri and Ushas are called sisters also in RV. X. 127. 3.

6. In fact, Ushas is called Ruśadvatsā, i. e. having a calf in the shining one (=Sun) :—RV. I. 113. 2 = Nir. II. 20. 1. :—
   ' रुशद्वत्सा रुशती श्वेत्यागादारैगु कृष्णा सदनान्यस्याः ।'
7. Read Nirukta, II. 19. 1. on RV. I. 113. 1. :—
   ' यथा प्रसूता सवितुः सवायँ एवा रात्र्युषसे योनिमारैक् । '

then shining at night. One should remember here the Ṛig-vedic conception that after the Sun is set, he merely changes his bright front and journeys towards the East, assuming a dark form. How should he otherwise rise in the East when he was seen the previous night setting in the West? Such was probably the conviction of that primitive Aryan, and it finds a direct expression in many Rig-vedic verses. For instance, in a famous Vedic hymn which occurs in three Saṁhitās, and which can be aptly compared to the above-given verse relating to the two forms of Yamī, Sūrya is said to show himself in two forms, of which one, Ananta (Endless or Eternal), is bright or shining, while the other is black.[1] In another verse,[2] which also occurs in three Saṁhitās, Pūshan is said to have two different forms: one is Śukra (= white or Arjuna), and the other is the one which deserves sacrifices. The latter form, mentioned in contradiction to the white one, must be the dark form of the night. The Nirukta is quite self-consistent in interpreting the word 'śukra' in the sense of 'lohita' (reddish = rohita); for Arjunī is Ushas or Dawn, so that Śukra or Arjuna must be the ruddy morning Sun.

We have seen that Keśava is Keśī, and that Keśa means 'a ray'. Bala-Rāma seems to have been regarded as having white *keśas*,[3] —as against Kṛishṇa with his black 'hair'. *Rāma* means *white*: so Bala-Rāma is a white form of Vishṇu, i. e., Śesha. There are numerous passages in the Sanskrit literature that say that Ananta-Śesha was white, or that Bala-Rāma should be delineated in the white.[4] Hence, it seems just likely that Arjuna and Bala-Rāma represented the same aspect of the Sun-god. Both were originally identical with Indra, and Arjuna could have his Sarpa-rājñī in the beautiful serpent-damsel (Nāga-kanyā) Ulūpī.[1] We do not know of Indra's colour from later literature, but we know that at least his vehicle (the elephant Airāvāta) is said to be white in colour.[2] Incidentally, this interpretation of the world *keśa* may serve to explain the epithets Hṛishī-keśa and Guḍā-keśa, given by the Bhagavad-gītā to Kṛishṇa and Arjuna respectively. As Mr. Tilak points out, there are a good number of passages and commentaries (apart from those we have already referred to) which would sanction and justify this interpretation of *keśa* in this connection.[3]

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[1] RV. I. 115. 5 = AV. XX. 123. 2 = YV. 33. 38 = T. B., II. viii. 7. 2:—

'अनन्तमन्यद्रुशदस्य पाजः कृष्णमन्यद्धरितः सं भरन्ति ॥'

The dark (i. e. nightly) form seems to be here identical with Varuṇa.

[2] RV. VI. 51. 1 = S. V., 75 = T. Ś., IV. i. 11. 2; T. A., I. ii. 4 = T. A., I. x. 1 = T. A., IV. v. 6 = Nirukta, XII. 17. 1:—

'शुक्रं ते अन्यद्यजतं ते अन्यद् विषुरूपे अहनी द्यौरिवासि।'

[3] Supra, p. 105. Naishadhīya, XXI. 85:—

'तावकापरतनोः सितकेशस्त्वं हली किल स एव च शेषः।'

Amarakośa, 608; 1348; etc. Mbh. I. 199. 32 f.:—

"स चापि केशौ हरिरुद्बबर्ह शुक्लमेकमपरं चापि कृष्णम् ॥...
तयोरेको बलदेवो बभूव योसौ श्वेतो तस्य देवस्य केशः ॥"

[4] SRB. p 27, st. 197, refers to him as "Dhāma dhavalaṁ" (the white lustre). Bṛihat-saṁhitā, 50. 36 (Vizianagram S. S., vol. x, p. 709):—

'बलदेवो हलपाणिर्मदविभ्रमलोचनश्च कर्तव्यः।
बिभ्रत्कुण्डलमेकं शङ्खेन्दुमृणालगौरतनुः ॥'

It is also worthy of note that Balder is supposed to be as "beautiful as the shining white flower Baldrsbra (Balder's Brae)". NCM. p. 24.

Now, in an important Ṛig-vedic hymn, we actually find the rays of the Black Sun-god, mentioned. The passage seems to allude to 'three Keśīs'; the first one, 'sowing' the seed every year or 'burning the earth', according to the Nirukta (notice the connection between 'burning the earth' for making the soil more fruitful and Agnyādhāna-Garbhādhāna), is no doubt identical with Agni; the second shines over (lit. observes) the whole world with his śachīs and is, in my opinion, identical with Indra-Baladeva; and the third whose form, it is said, cannot be seen, must be Kṛishṇa. In fact, the last form seems to be actually mentioned in that very Ṛig-vedic hymn (only two stanzas later) as a black abode (kṛishṇa niyāna), to which the water-dwelling (apo vasānāh) winged birds (=harayaḥ suparṇāḥ) repair.[4] As Durgāchārya, following the Nirukta, explains, these *harayaḥ suparnāḥ* can easily stand for the (water-absorbing) rays of the Sun-god.[5] Not only Suparṇa but Hari also means 'a ray', according to the Nirukta. The *harayaḥ suparṇāḥ* certainly corresponding to Hari-keśas of the god Savitṛi, who is actually called Hari-keśa in a Rig-vedic verse.[6] Hari-keśa is not, I guess, far removed from Hṛishī-keśa, a name of Śri–Kṛishṇa.

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[1] Vishṇu P. IV. 20. 11.

[2] Bṛihat-saṁhitā, 56. 42; also see Kāśyapa quoted in Bhaṭṭotpala-vṛitti.

[3] Gītā-rahasya, p. 607. (1923, Poona, Marathi ed.).

[4] This is merely the dark expanse of the nightly sky.
RV. I. 164. 44-47 :—
'त्रयः केशिन ऋतुथा वि चक्षते संवत्सरे वपत एक एषाम् ।
विश्वमेको अभि चष्टे शचीभिर्ध्राजिरेकस्य ददृशे न रूपम् ॥
...कृष्णं नियानं हरयः सुपर्णा अपो वसाना दिवमुत्पतन्ति ॥'
Cf. Nirukta, XII. 27. 1; AV. IX. 10. 26.

[5] Nirukta, VII. 24. 1.

[6] RV. X. 139. 1 = YV. 17. 58 = T. S. IV. vi. 3. 3 :—
'सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात्सविता ज्योतिरुदयाँ अजस्रम् ।
तस्य पूषा प्रसवे याति विद्वान् त्संपश्यन् विश्वा भुवनानि गोपाः ॥'
It seems however that here Pūshan-Gopā, who disappears when Hari-keśa Savitṛi rises, is to be identified with Kṛishṇa-Gopāla. Savitṛi then becomes Bala-Rāma.

One does not know if Hēra (Hērē) is Śrī ; but Śrī-Kṛishṇa, perhaps, represents Herakles,[1] whose name is interchangeable with that of the Sandas or Sandan, on Cilician coins. Berossus equates Herekles with Sandan, and Agathias calls Sandes the old Persian Hercules.[2] Sandan or Sandas was only a Cappadocian and Cilician name of Hercules ;[3] the god of Ibreez, with the grapes and corn in his hand, identical as he is with the Ba'al of Tarsus bearing the same emblems, was known to the Greeks as Hercules.[4]

Now, an Accadian cylinder seal of c. 2500 B. C. represents what is looked upon as his prototype, a hero attacking a seven-headed monster, while another seal depicts his adversary as a *pentacephalus* being.

"Old stories tell, how Hercules
A dragon slew at Lerna
With seven heads and forteen eyes."[5]

A summary of these 'old stories' may be given in the following words of Dr. Oskar Seyffert :—"The hydra or water-snake of Lerna, also a child of Typhon and Echidna. This monster lived in the marsh of Lerna, near Argos, and was so poisonous that its very breath was fatal. It had nine heads, one of which was immortal.

Sūrya-raśmi and Harikeśa are words which are found in the description of the Sun even in the Matsya P. 128. 29.

[1] The following account from Arrian's Indica would show that Herakles is, perhaps, Śṛi-Kṛishṇa. "Herakles, who is currently reported to have come as a stranger into the country, is said to have been in reality a native of India. This Herakles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi" (= Śūrasenas of Mathurā). "But the dress which this Herakles wore, Megasthenes tells us, resembled that of the Theban Herakles, as the Indians themselves admit. It is further said that he had very numerous progeny born to him in India (for, like his Theban namesake, he married many wives), but that he had only one daughter. The name of this child was Pandaia." (McCrindle, Ancient India : Megasthenes and Arrian, 1926, p. 206).

Shamash is said to have been "worshipped in Canaan, sometimes under the name of Heres" (NCM, p. 156), which I am inclined to connect with Hari. My attention is lately drawn to the following remarks of Weber— "May we also explain Vishṇu's name, Hari, which the Avesta knows as the name of a dæmon, Zairi, as meaning 'the Golden', and connect it with the solar luminary ? The word appears in the Veda in the closest connexion with Indra, and would hence lead us to the second stage [?] of the foundation which lies below the Vishṇuism of the epic poems, namely to Indra (Arjuna) himself and to the Kṛishṇa who became identified in some manner which we must confess has not yet been explained ". (IA. 1901. 240). I must add that I write this paragraph after writing the Appendix D (q. v.).

[2] Antiquity, XII. 324. *The Scape-gaat* 388–9. Sandas in Rammon. Supra, 137.

[3] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 98.

[4] Ibid. p. 97.

[5] Antiquity XII. p. 323.

Herakles scares it out of its lair with burning arrows, and cuts off its heads ; but for every head cut off two new ones arise. At length Iolaus, the charioteer of Herakles and son of his brother Iphicles, sears the wounds with burning brand. "[1]

No doubt this legend is paralleled in India by a legend concerning Kāliya Nāga who dwelt in the river Yamunā according to the Purāṇic account. This dragon was also five-headed and was so poisonous that the birds flying in the sky above it would be burnt by its breath.[2] A certain writer has recently pointed out that this tradition about Kṛishṇa is found in the Ṛig-veda in connection with Indra.[3] " Recent excavations show a Dragon myth to be connected with Ashur ".[4]

The idea of a black sun, shining with black or subdued rays at night, may not be altogether novel, since it was probably known even in Babylonia. Adar, more popularly known as Ninib, often represented as a storm-god and a doughty warrior, was not only a god of war and chase, but " equally a beneficent deity of vegetation and fertility " and of healing.[5] M. Lenormant was the first to guess correctly his character as " the nocturnal sun in the darkness ", but he took him to be possibly a sun of the underworld.[6] M. Amaud however thought that " Ninib was the sun hidden behind and struggling with the clouds, an obscured sun, but obscured during the day-time." It is just possible that he was looked upon as a nocturnal sun, shining not in the lower world, but rather in the sky above, no doubt, with obscured rays. It is, however, for the Assyriologists to say how far this conjecture of mine is correct.

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[1] D. C. A., p. 280 f. Elsewhere we learn that it "ravaged the country of Lerna near Argos, and dwelt in a swamp near the well of Amymone." The last word has perhaps some letters in common with Yamunā.

[2] ' विषारणिभवस्याग्नेर्धूमेन परिवेष्टितम् ॥
अभोग्यं तत्पशूनां हि अपेयं च जलार्थनाम् ।...
आकाशादप्यसंचार्यं खगैराकाशगोचरैः । '
Harivaṁśa; Vishṇu-pārva, XI. 44 f.
' स चोरगपतिः क्रुद्धो मेघराशिसमप्रभः ।
ततो रक्तान्तनयनः कालियः समदृश्यत ॥
पञ्चास्यः पावकोच्छ्वासश्चलज्जिह्वोऽनलाननः ।
पृथुभिः पञ्चभिर्घोरैः शिरोभिः परिवारितः ॥ ' —Ibid XII. 3f.

[3] I. C., VII. 112 f.

[4] NCM. p. 16.

[5] Ibid. p. 126. This character is quite akin to that of Indra in the Ṛig-veda ; and if the equation Indra = Zeus = Kṛishṇa be granted, these attributes may not stand in the way of our identification of Ninib with Kṛishṇa.

[6] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 656–57. In support of this suggestion may be pointed out a parallel to be found in the Egyptian sun-god Af, who " made his nightly journey through the underworld ". NMC. p. 4. Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 47, opines that it was Nergal, who was the Babylonian sun of the night. See Appendix E.

In Egypt also we find a similar divinity. Set, Seti, Sati or Sit, one of the oldest of Egyptian gods, "was at one time worshipped at Tanis as a sun-god, the beloved of Ra".[1] The Syrians identified him with Ba'al, and Apep is only a serpent form of Seti, who, no doubt, personifies darkness, inspite of his being a sun god. Lastly, Zeus, whose identity with Kṛishṇa must now be deemed a certainty, seems to be identified in Grecian mythology with the dark sky, which aspect is dealt with at length in A. B. Cook's *Zeus*, III. 943 f.

I may here note a striking similarity observable between a festival connected with Lord Kṛishṇa and another connected with Attis. Says Mr. Mukerji:—"Holi is the gayest of Hindu festivals. It is celebrated on the day of the full moon concluding the lunar month of Phālguna, which roughly synchronises with March. It... commemorates, in its mirth and gaiety, the innocent frolics of youthful Kṛishṇa with the merry milk-maids of Vṛindāvana...it is a national, all-India, pan-Hinduistic festival...The only religious element in the Holi festival is the worship of Kṛishṇa. An image of Kṛishṇa as a babe is placed in a little swing cradle, and decorated with garlands of flowers and painted with *gulal*..., the use of which by men, women and children is a marked feature of the Holi celebrations even in their social aspect. The swing cradle accounts for the other name by which the Holi is sometimes known—*Dol Jatra*,...Holi has now become a purely secular festival characterised by mere rout and revel...."[2] All people, who have witnessed the festival, are well aware of the extremely foul language that is used in this connection. Holī or Holikā is supposed to mark the end of winter and the advent of spring. Now, we learn in connection with Attis the following:—"The resurrection of the god was hailed by his disciples as a promise that they too would issue triumphant from the corruption of the grave. On the morrow, the twenty-fifth day of March, which was reckoned the vernal equinox, the divine resurrection was celebrated with a wild outburst of glee. At Rome, and probably elsewhere, the celebration took form of a carnival. It was the Festival of Joy (*Hilaria*). A universal licence prevailed. Every man might say and do what he pleased. People went about the streets in disguise. No dignity was too high or too sacred for the humblest citizen to assume with impunity.''[1]

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[1] NCM. p. 155. See Appendices E and F.

[2] Rai Bahadur A. C. Murkerji, *Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts*, p. 50-56 (quoted here with correct transcription of Sanskrit words).

Mr. Mukerji makes a pertinent observation in connection with the Indian festival :—''Why the advent of spring season should be a festive occasion in a tropical country, is not quite obvious, for in no part of the plain regions of India,...are the rigours of the winter-season at any time so severe as to make the approach of spring a looked-for event. The mild winter has no terrors for even the poorest Indian peasant, as long as he can enjoy the warm sunshine by day,...''[2] These remarks clearly show this festival to be an extraneous element in this country ; it must have been borrowed from, or migrated with, some people, who were living in some country like Italy where winter was a bit too severe.

To clear the ground more, we should devote ourselves a little to the study of other characters in the Epic. Yudhishṭhira is also known to us as Dharma or Dharma-rāja, which is pre-eminently an epithet of Yama. The Epic account makes Yudhishṭhira an off-spring of that god ; but this, for reasons that must be now apparent, only means that the two are identical. Now, Yama is, as proved above, Agni or Mahā-kāla, the destructive aspect of the Sun-god. The Oraons and the Malas of Bengal worship the Sun-god '' under the title of Dharma or Dharma-Gosāin '', whom they annually marry to Dhātrī or the Earth-Goddess.[3] The Bhuiyas also '' know him as Borām or Dharma Devatā.''[4]

Another interesting character in the Epic is Karṇa, a son of Sūrya by the princess Kunti, who being ashamed of this fruit of innocent frolic, tried to dispose of him in secret by putting him in a basket (of canes) and throwing it in the river Aśva (which I identify with modern Āsan, a tributary of Chambal) at the place where she flowed past the town Kuntipura or Kauntapura (which I identify with modern Kontwar, Kotwar or Kotwal).[5] The basket was drifted along the current into the river Chambal (ancient Charmaṇvatī), thence into Jumna and Ganges, where it was caught up by a charioteer. Pitying the forsaken son of Kunti, he brought him up as his own son, and later Karṇa became a king. The same tale, with a little difference, is narrated about a semi-historical king Sargon I of Accad. Myths like this, as even the Flood myth, etc., do not originate independently in different countries. The Flood myth probably originated in the land of Shinar, whence it migrated to the East, the West and the South under various forms, some mutilated versions passing even to the South African tribes. "The text giving the legend of Sargon, as published in W. A. I. iii. 4, 7, is as follows :—

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[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 227. Latin *Hilaris* and Greek *Hilaros* (both meaning 'cheerful', whence hilarity, exhilarate, etc.) are possibly philologically connected with Holi.

[2] A. C. Mukerji, l. c., p. 28-29 ; also p. 60-61. It is not necessary to accept the last remark of this Rai Bahadur.

[3] *The Magic Art*, II. 148 ; W. Crooke, *Religion etc.*, p. 32.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Mbh. ' मञ्जूषा त्वश्वनद्याः सा ययौ चर्मण्वतीं नदीम् ।
चर्मण्वत्याश्च यमुनां ततो गङ्गां जगाम ह ।
गङ्गायाः सूतविषयं चम्पामनुययौ पुरीम् । '

1. Sargon, the mighty king, the king of Accad (am) I.
2. My mother (was) a princess ; my father I knew not ;...
3. (In) the city of Azupiranu, which is built on the bank of the Euphrates.
4. (My) mother, the princess, conceived me ; in a secret place she brought me forth ;
5. She placed me in a basket of reeds ; with bitumen my exit (gate) she closed ;
6. She gave me to the river which drowned me not.
7. The river carried me along ; to Akki the irrigator it brought me ;
8. Akki the irrigator in the goodness of (his) heart lifted me up ;
9. Akki the irrigator reared me as (his own) son ;...
12. For 45 (?) years I ruled the kingdom.
13. The men of the black-headed race I governed ... "[1]

" The story reminds us of Perseus launched upon the sea with his mother Danae in a boat, of Romulus and Remus exposed to the fury of the Tiber, and still more of Moses in his ark of bulrushes upon the Nile ".[2]

If Sargon I is to be assigned to c. 2700 B.C., this myth narrated about him must have originated a few centuries later than that date.

Kontwar may not be Kāntipura as suggested by General Cunningham and Mr. M. B. Garde. The site is newly excavated by the latter scholar, who informs me that the story of Kunti, giving birth to that illegitimate child and getting rid of him, is still narrated about this place. Mr. Garde is wrong in identifying this town with 'Kuntalpur' (*Archaeology in Gwalior*, 2nd ed., p. 7), which he erroneously regards as a capital of certain Nāga kings (Ibid. p. 9). Kontwar is twenty-five miles north of Gwalior.

[1] Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* : 1887 (1909), p. 26–28.

[2] Ibid. I am also reminded of a story in the Arabian Nights, which tells us of two princes and a princess (their sister) being thrown into a river and carried

Again, if it has been borrowed by the Indians from the Chaldæans (as seems not improbable), then, surely, I cannot put Karṇa's birth, —I mean, the birth of the remarkable myth relating to Karṇa,— earlier than circa 2500 B.C. The Mahā-bhārata war could not take place, even mythologically, as early as 3101 B.C.

Karṇa is, of course, a son of the Sun-god, Sūrya,[1] and may, therefore, be identified with him in accordance with the theory of emanation which almost seems to set forth that various attributes of a divinity may be personified into independent beings, that may be regarded either as sons or as incarnations. It may be noted that Kunti is said to have remained a virgin (Kumārī) even after she had given birth to Karṇa by what might be termed as Immaculate Conception.[2] To me she appears to be a mother goddess. The name of Pāṇḍu, husband *de jure* of Kunti, means nothing more than 'white', and may signify only an epithet of that bright luminary.[3]

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away along the current, until they were rescued by a gardener who adopted them. Ultimately they inherited their father's kingdom, by the aid of "a talking bird, a singing tree and golden water," which the princess secured after great exertions.

[1] Karṇa corresponds in some measure to Acheron, the son of Helios, who helped the Titans in their war with Zeus.

[2] In connection with this fantastic tale of Kunti, conceiving in consequence of a *mantra* she chanted in praise of Sūrya, we may quote the following observations of W. Crooke, ***Religion and Folklore of Northern India***, p. 34-35:—"It is commonly believed that women can be fertilized by the sun, and girls attaining puberty are secluded from the sight of him. A childless woman desiring offspring bathes, stands naked before the sun and implores him to remove her barrenness. A Rajput story tells how a girl became pregnant, because she incautiously repeated the Gāyatrī hymn which she learned from her preceptor [Does Mr. Crooke refer to Kunti's tale here ?]; and the same tale is told of an ancestress of Changiz Khan and Timur the lame." We have already noted many instances of immaculate conception. Here is another, which may support our conjecture as to Karṇa's identity with the Sun-god. "Neith was the virgin-mother of the sun" and the inscription at Sais says: "I am what is, what will be and what has been; none has raised my tunic and the child I have given birth to, is the sun." (***The Origin of the Cross***, p. 192). Swāmī Satyānanda adds: "It is very probable that Christianity borrowed the immaculate conception of Mary from Neith indirectly and directly from the birth story of Mazdean Mithra, which is directly inspired from the Egyptian sources. For we find Neith having a solar disc under her extending arms, exactly like the Mazdean." (Ibid.). Neith is Niśīthinī. A Sicilian princess also conceived by the Sun, while yet a maiden (***Balder the Beautiful***, p. 73), and "among the Indians of Guacheta in Columbia,...a report once ran that the sun would impregnate one of their maidens who should bear a child and yet remain a virgin ". (Ibid. p. 74. For other instances, read p. 72-76).

[3] For Kauravas and Gāndhārī, vide Appendix H,

CHAPTER XV

The Bull and the Cow

According to Mr. J. N. Banerji, the bull on Indian coins most probably represents Śiva.[1] I should venture to suggest that there is no doubt with regard to their identity, since, as noted above, we have inviolable scriptural authority supporting it,—say from any religion. Bull is identical with many male Vedic divinities, as also many foreign ones, to allude to all of which again would be tedious and unnecessary. Some repetition, however, seems unavoidable.

In Egypt, the sun-god is called ' the bull of his mother ', Hathor, the Celestial Cow ;[2] and according to Herodotus, they were killed only as a *piaculum*.[3] " Conspicuous among Egyptian animal cults was that of the bull, and worship of Apis (Hap) goes back to the earliest times. According to Herodotus (iii. 28) it was the ' calf of a cow incapable of conceiving another off-spring ;[4] and the Egyptians say that lightning descends upon the cow from heaven ' ; on the latter point another story was that the god descended on the cow as a ray of moon-light...Oxen were sacred to Apis and had to be pure white (Herod. ii. 38). When the old Apis died, a new one was sought ;... Once a year the cow was presented to Apis and then killed (Pliny, viii. 186)...Women were forbidden to approach it[5] save during its four month's education at Necropolis, when they exposed themselves before it (Diodorus, i. 85)[6].........Both the living and the dead Apis were connected with Osiris, and its soul formed with Osiris a dual god Asur Hapi (Serapis). The dead bull was carefully mummified and buried in a rock tomb. The cult of Apis was national."[7] And "after the death of Apis-bull his 'lingam' enclosed in a gold-sheath was introduced in the 'yoni' of the queen,

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1. I. H. Q., XVI. p. 4.
2. Myth. A. R., XII. 38 ; vide ut supra, p. 98 ; 95.
3. Herodotus, ii. 41 ; ERE. I. 507, col. i.
4. Aditi appears in India as Gṛishṭi, which means ' sakṛit prasūtā gauḥ,' i.e., a cow that has given birth to one calf only.
5. Women in Northern India are forbidden to approach Kārtika-svāmī or Kārtikeya-Kumāra, the young son of the Mother Goddess. Also in Mahārāshṭra.
6. With this may be compared a practice current,—I am told by Śrīniwas Pandit—among the Mahārāshṭrians, that women desirous of progeny can see God Śiva only after touching the vṛishaṇas (testicles) of the sacred vṛishā, Nandī, sitting before him. I am not sure, but I think, I have observed others also performing the same rite. As a symbol of virility, it can be sacred to anybody.
7. ERE. I. 507, col. i ; cf. D. C. A., p. 578. Vide Appendix J.

thereby showing honour to her''.[1] In the subterranean vaults of the avenue leading to the Serapium, discovered near Memphis by Auguste Mariette in 1850, numerous carcasses of such Apis bulls were found. Rā at Heliopolis, Ptah at Memphis, Minû at Thebes, Montu or Menthu at Hermonthis are all supposed to have assumed the form of a bull, and the bulls of Rā and Ptah, the Mnevis and the Apis are known to us from classical writers.[2] Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, "is said to have invaded Ethiopia without success, and to have perished, on his return, of a wound received from his own sword in the thigh, the same part of the body where in his madness he had struck Apis, the Bull-god of the Egyptians."[3] Both in India and in Egypt, the bull and the cow played the part of a scapegoat.[4]

The walls of a temple of Nin-khursag, built by A-anni-padda on a mound some four miles from Ur, " were adorned on the outside with copper statues of bulls modelled in the round, with a copper frieze of bulls in relief,"[5] etc. " In Babylonia, figures of bulls guarded the approach to a temple, house or garden... colossal figures of them in stone or metal, called lamassi (from the Sumerian *lamma*), were placed on either side of the entrance... and in the legend of Chedorlaomer (?) we read that when Bel determined to bring evil upon his temple at Babylon, 'its sedu,' or guardian-bull, departed from it, and so allowed the Elamite to enter and destroy the sanctuary. The guardian bulls were known as *kirubi*, and corresponded with the chirubin which stood at the entrance of garden of Eden, protecting the way of the 'tree of life' (Gn. 3.24)."[6] In the list of Babylonian deities found in an inscription, the name of 'the two divine bulls' sacred to Ea or Enki of Eridu (the oldest city on the earth according to the Sumerians) are mentioned.[7] The Assyrian bull was often represented as endowed with wings,[8] and was identical with the winged sun-god Ashshur-Asur, who was conceived under various hybrid forms. He, no doubt, reminds us of the Cretan Minotaur, a

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1. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 171-172, Vide Appendix K.
2. *Dawn of Civilisation*, 119.
3. Owen, *A brief Hist. of Greece*, 12, (1913).
4. ERE. I, 508. ii. *The Scapegoat*, p, 216 f.
5. *The Sumerians*, p. 40-41.
6. ERE. II. 887-888.
7. Ibid. Ragozin, 164.
8. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 170. The learned author seems to suggest that the celestial bull, created by Anu at the desire of the haughty Ishtar, whose proposal was spurned by Gilgamesh, was probably identical with Ishtar's consort: he helps the goddess of fertility.

grandson of Helios and an off-spring of Pasiphaë by a bull, who is represented in the form of a half-man and a half-bull.[1] For, it is now well-nigh proved that not only Minotaur, but Minos also represents the sun. In Crete the lover of the Mother-Goddess was a bull.[2] " Among the Cretans, a Dionysus was sacrificied biennially under the form of a bull; and the worshippers tore the living animal to pieces, wildly with their teeth."[3].

The Yezidis of Mosul (on Euphrates), who worship the Sun-god at his rising and setting (or in other words, perform ' sandhyā-vandana'), sacrifice white oxen at his shrine,—which reminds certain scholars of the bulls dedicated to Ashshur. Incidentally it is pointed out that like the Assyrians, these Yezidis grow beards. The bull was sacred also to the Jewish Jehoveh[4] and was duly offered in sacrifices. It was a symbol of Hadad-Rimmon, 'the lord of fertility, the prince of the heaven and the earth', with whom it may be either identified or associated: This seems clear from Babylonian cylinder seals as well as from Syrio-Hittite sculpture from Malatia, Eyuk, Doliche, Zinjerli or Sinjerli, etc.[5] From him, or like him, this symbol of virility was borrowed not only by Indian Indra-Vṛishā = Rudra-Vṛishabhadhvaja, but also perhaps by the Cilician Sandas and the Greek Zeus. For, it was this animal, "whose form was assumed by Zeus in order to carry off Europa, a Phœnician damsel."[6] Ultimately its origin is traced either to some Sumerian divinity like Anu or Bel-Marduk or to Egyptian Osiris.

We have already seen that Parjanya is in all probability identical with Indra and is often called Vṛishā or a Bull.[7] I beg to quote some remarks of Frazer in this connection. " The chief deity of the Lithuanians was Perkunas or Perkuns, the god of thunder and lightning, whose resemblance to Zeus and Jupiter has often been pointed out. Oaks were sacred to him....And in time of drought, when they wanted rain, they used to sacrifice a black heifer, a black he-goat, and a black cock to the thunder-god in the depths of the woods."[1] Malecki also says that Perkunas was prayed to for rain. Frazer seems to approve of the identity of the names Perkunas and Parjanya, originally suggested by G. Bühler and endorsed by Prof. H. Hirt, and shows that the bull is an emblem of the rain-god,[2] Perkunas, Parjanya or Zeus, being identified with him or sacrificed to him.

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[1] Cf. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 170 f.; SCD. p. 334 f.; 169 f. " It was said that Pasiphaë, the wife of King Minos, fell in love with a wondrous white bull which rose from the sea, and that in order to gratify her unnatural passion the artist Daedalus constructed a hollow wooden cow, covered with cow's hide, in which the love-sick queen was hidden while the bull mounted it. The result of their union was the Minotaur." (*The Dying God*, p. 71). Frazer shows that the bull here is none but the sun, that the Cretans indeed called the sun a bull, and that the identification of Pasiphaë, " she who shines on all " with the moon has already been suggested by Pausanias. (Ibid. p. 72 f.).

[2] Farnell, *Cults etc.*, II. 632, 645, etc., ERE. I. 508, col. i.

[3] Allen, 213. For bull-worship in Crete, read esp. Glotz. 253–4.

[4] ERE. XII. 147; *Universal Bible Dict.* p. 82.

[5] Garstang, p. 134; 144; 202 f.; 210; 302 f.; ERE. II. 888; etc.

[6] I. Taylor, p. 302.

[7] Supra, p. 82; cf. p. 148; etc.

Apollo, "a god of light, in both its beneficent and its destructive effects," was in many places, but above all at Athens, "worshipped as Agyieus, the god of streets and highways, whose rude symbol a conical post [obviously developed out of *liṅga*] stood by the street-doors and in court-yards."[3] In spite of his being identical with Indian Sāmba, therefore, he seems to combine in himself in addition many of the attributes of Pradyumna or Kāma. The latter, according to all Indian traditions, is identical with the *liṅga* or creative form of Śiva, who has also a Rudra or terrific form denoting the destructive effects of Nature and whose most sacred emblem is the sacred bull, Nandī. It is then quite natural on our part to expect Apollo to be associated with the Bull. In the island of Delos are the remains of the so-called 'sanctuary of the bull,' the building containing the horned altar of Apollo, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world.[4] We have already referred to the institution of sacred marriage, and to the fact that according to the Greek tradition, ladies were mated to the figure of Apollo,[5] just as Indian ladies are still reported in certain provinces to sacrifice their maidenhood to Śiva-liṅgas.

Again, the philological connection between Priapus and Apis, the sacred Egyptain bull representing Osiris, is already demonstrated by certain scholars. The obscene rites in connection with his worship can be easily likened to the present-day Italian custom, observed in the sacred pilgrimage of Catholics, known as Venernia (< Venus), in which a small monolith pillar is touched by their private parts, by women desirous of children.[6] "Plutarch in his life of Marius states that the Cimbri took with them on their expedition into Italy a brazen bull on which they were accustomed to swear solemn oaths.''[1]

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[1] *The Magic Art*, etc., II. 365–367.

[2] Ibid. p. 368 ; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 416.

[3] D. C. A., p. 41–43.

[4] Ibid. Vide Appendix I.

[5] *The Magic Art*, etc., II. 135 ; Herodotus, i. 182.

[6] *The Origin of the Cross*. p. 189 ; vide supra, p. 121 ; 181 ; etc. Such a "Saint's stone" exists also in Medina and is used likewise, so much so that "it has been almost worn out by this use." *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 189.

In ancient Iran "the moon is closely associated with the bull and is regarded as containing the seed of the primeval bull (Bundahishn, iv. x), where one of the standing epithets of the moon is gaoshiθra, 'having the seed of the bull'. Here the underlying idea is evidently a fertility concept.''[2]

And Baluchistan is not far from Iran. Sir Aurel Stein says:— "Considering the number of these representations of the humped bull and the uniformity of the type throughout all chalcolithic sites of Makran and Jhalawan, it seems difficult not to believe that this animal was an object of popular reverence if not of actual worship. If this assumption is right, the temptation is obviously great to seek some connection between the prehistoric worship of the population, which occupied the extreme western marches of India, before the Aryan invasion of Vedic times, and the great role played by Śiva's bull in the Indian cult from very early period.''[3]

I always wonder why great scholars have mostly ignored Indra's bull, and have always considered the bull-worship to be non-Vedic. There are whole *sūktas* in the Vedas,[4] which are devoted to the sacred bull as identical with the Supreme God. Without going into tedious details of such hymns, I may merely request the reader to note its identity with the morning sun,[5] its *connection with the Earth Goddess* (Pṛithivī Devī), Aditi, or her various forms.[6] It is impossible to fully comprehend our remarks in this instance (if not in other places) without reading the passages referred to in the footnotes, either in the original or in translation.

The bull figures prominently among the animals sacrificed to Zeus, as also to his favourite 'maiden daughter' Athene or Pallas Athene,[7] "the goddess of eternal virginity", of war and of victory. Like Zeus, she is "the mistress of thunder and lightning", and is represented as hurling a thunderbolt; she "sends down from sky to earth, light and warmth and fruitful dew, and with them prosperity to fields and plants". She was pre-eminently the protectress of agriculture and "inventress of plough",[1] and so probably her connection with the bull.

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[1] ERE. XII. 889.

[2] ERE. I. 507, col. ii.

[3] Mem. A. S. I., No. 43, p. 161.

[4] AV. VI. 31; IX 4; XIII. 1 (especially st. 12, 25, etc.); Nirukta II. 6. 2; II. 14. 2. Note that in AV. IX. 7, 'go' is identified with all gods together. It is, however, difficult to determine the sex of this 'go'.

[5] AV. VI. 31. 3; XIII. 1. 12, 25, etc.; XX. 48.; etc.

[6] AV. IX. 4. 2; XIII. 1. 16, 38, 45, 46, 52, 53, 54, etc.

[7] ERE. I. 508, col. i; Farnell, *Cults etc.*, I. p. 290 f.

And as to Athene, so also to other forms of the Great Mother among the Greeks, the bull was sacred, e. g. to "Artemis *ταυροπôλος* and *ταυρικη*', which Farnell interprets as referring to the agricultural functions of the goddess ; in the worship of *ταυροπόλος* the bull and calf were rarely, the cow never, sacrificed".[2]

This brings us to *cow-worship*. Now, if male deity is a bull, the female divinity, according to the primitive logic, is bound to be a cow. So is Aditi, and we have already noted numerous like instances in Egypt, and elsewhere. For instance, Nut, the Egyptian sky-goddess and Hathor, the goddess of love, were "connected with the celestial cow, whose star-spangled belly formed the sky".[3] Incidentally, this form corresponds to that of Indian Kṛishṇā or Rātri. Hathor "was the 'mother-cow' which gave milk and was therefore, shown both as a cow and as a sycamore fig—the 'tree of life'...the milk of the tree was the milk of the goddess".[4]

Again, Isis,[5] the most popular of all the Egyptian divinities, barring, perhaps, her brother-consort Osiris, was undoubtedly a mother goddess, representing "the feminine receptive and producing principle in Nature". "As the goddess of procreation and birth her symbol was the cow", and on monuments, she is mostly represented as supporting between her cow-horns the orb of the moon, or as having horns in the shape of a crescent. Hathor is also referred to as supporting the sun placed between her horns.[6] The point, which I wish to draw attention to, is that these horns, sandwitching the celestial bodies, may, I think, be appropriately likened to the so-called Taurine symbol, as seen on certain coins.[7]

The Greek goddess Artemis is also depicted "with horns on her shoulders, which are usually supposed to refer to the moon : the horns certainly appear in the representations of Selene",[8] where again it is supposed to symbolise the crescent moon.[9] The car of Selene is often driven by cows, for they were sacred to her.[10]

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[1] D. C. A., p. 80-82. [2] ERE. I. 508, col. 1.

[3] Mackenzie, p. 160 f.; cf. Evans, II. 51.

[4] Mackenzie, p. 160 f. [5] D. C. A., p. 324 f.

[6] Mackenzie, p. 179, fig. 50 ; compare this figure with that of Isis, in D. C. A., p. 325 ; also Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates I. p. 30 f.

[7] Durga Prasad, fig. 5 (Plate 22) ; vide also Evans, II. 806 f.

[8] ERE. I. 508, col. i. [9] D. C. A., p. 573. [10] Ibid. 573.

The Greek Artemis was identified with the Roman Diana, who was "the goddess of the moon, of the open air, and open country, with its mountains, forests, springs and brooks, of the chase, and of childbirth". "Cows were offered to the Diana of Aventine, and her temple adorned with cows', not with stags' horns",[1] as was usually the case, with her images. Again, in honour of the greatest of the Greek goddesses Rhea-Cybele, the great mother of gods, *Taurobolia* was performed, when bulls were sacrificed.[2] And to Demeter, too, the cow was offered as an emblem of productivity.[3] Frazer also informs us of a fertility charm, according to which the Roman Vestals were required to sacrifice annually, on the 15th of April, pregnant cows to the Earth goddess, in order to "quicken both the seed in the ground and the wombs of the cows".[4]

The ancients enacted in so many details ritual dramas, such as the one in connection with the violent death and resurrection of Dionysus ; and at Tenedos, the god was represented as a new-born calf of a mother goddess named Semele (a favourite wife of Zeus), who was represented as the mother cow and "tended like a woman in child-bed".[5] Frazer also shows how the corn-spirit is said to assume the form of a cow in folk-lore of different countries.[6] He opines that the "horns of the waxing or waning moon naturally suggest the resemblance of the luminary to a white cow : hence the ancients represented the goddess or the moon drawn by a team of white cattle.'"[7]

The Mountain Mother of Ur had the bull and cow motif 'endlessly repeated' on her temple. According to Gadd, most of the early rulers of Babylon included among his titles "fed with the holy milk of Nin-khursag", and he opines that it is this idea that is responsible for the representation of the cows upon her temple ![8] The Egyptian Pharaoh was also depicted as being suckled by the Celestial Cow, as he was her son, as also a son of the Sun-god. The Babylonian custom is probably only a borrowal from the Egyptian idea. Nin-khursag or Nin-hursag had large cattle-farms assigned to her, as at Lagash ; and al-Ubaid was once a pasture-land for her sacred cattle to graze.

In the Vendidad, cow appears as the most valued among "many good pure objects created by God",[9] which included the Fire, the

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[1] Ibid. p. 183.
[2] Ibid. p. 542 f.
[3] Ibid. p. 178.
[4] *The Magic Art*, etc., II. 229.
[5] *The Spirits of the Corn*, etc., I. p. 32–33.
[6] Ibid, p. 289.
[7] *The Dying God*, p. 72.
[8] Gadd, l. c., p. 62 f.
[9] Vend., XI. 1.

Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the stars, a (sacred) tree, etc. The word 'gao' is often used for the Mother Earth, and in 'nemo geush' ('Homage to the kine'), it signifies 'the whole nature'.[1] Gao evidently corresponds to the Indian Go[2] and the Greek Gaia, Gæa or Ge. At times, gao represents the whole of the Universe, as in Ahunavaiti Gatha. Non-feeding of a cow results in childlessness according to the Parsees, and her urine (gao-miz) is held in high veneration as a purifier, and has to be applied to his body daily by a devout Zoroastrian.[3]

Dr. Hutton, in his article on the "Assam Megaliths" gives an illustration, in which are shown forked Y-shaped wooden posts, used by Semā Nāgās in connection with their burials. Here, to the Y-shaped forks (which, as Dr. Hutton shows, are regarded by the Nāgās themselves as representations of the sacred Yoni) are attached wooden heads of cows.[4]

As in the case of other mother goddesses, identification with the cow is almost a constant feature of the Indian Mother Aditi, Pṛithivī, Iḍā or Vāk. It has given birth to various myths and various traditions. Like Isis suckling Horus, her 'calf of pure mouth', she appears in her capacity as a sky-goddess, suckling her young one Agni (who is, of course, identical with the sun), also called Yahva (= Jehoveh) and a bull.[5] The obverse of some ancient coins of Corcyra (or Kèrkyra, which is the same as that largest Ionian island, Corfû) and Carystus (Eubæa) shows a cow suckling a calf,[6] and this type is not unknown to us in India.[7]

We have already noted one form of the Great Goddess, that of Artemis, to whom a cow was never sacrificed. Now, there occurs a *mantra* in the Ṛik Saṁhitā, where Aditi, as identical with the cow, is called the mother of Rudras, a sister of Ādityas, etc., and a wish is expressed that Aditi-cow may not be killed.[1] The Gṛihyasūtras,[2] commenting on this passage, inform us that this *mantra* is to be recited when a cow without being killed is let loose, at which time the famous madhu-parka ceremony in honour of Atithi, etc., is performed.[5] In funeral rites also, she is let loose, and is made to walk thrice round the funeral pyre, when this stanza, together with another in praise of the 'all-pervading Goddess' (= viśva-vārā Devī), is recited.[3] For the Goddess is undoubtedly connected with the funeral sacraments as with all the rites that are auspicious. The custom of killing a bull instead of a cow, in connection with the death of a Brāhmaṇa, seems to be approved of by Kauṭilya.[4] According to a marriage hymn, occurring in both the Ṛig-veda and the Atharvaveda, cows were probably to be killed under the constellation of Aghās or Maghās, while they were to be married (to bulls?) under the Arjunīs or Phalgunīs.[5]

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[1] Compare 'Aditiḥ sarvaṁ'.

[2] Amarakośa, st. 303 :—

'विपुला गह्वरी धात्री गौरिला कुम्भिनी क्षमा ।'

[3] ABI., V. (1894), p. 106f. If the Zoroastrians apply it to their body, the high caste Hindus at least in Southern India drink it especially in Śrāvaṇī. Also vide Raghu. III. 41 :—'तदङ्गनिष्यन्दजलेन' etc.

[4] Antiquity, III. 324 f ; pl. viii.

[5] RV. X. 11. 1 :—

'वृषा वृष्णे दुदुहे दोहसा दिवः पयांसि यह्वो अदितेरदाभ्यः ।'

Cf. RV. X. 5. 7 :—

'असच्च सच्च परमे व्योमन्दक्षस्य जन्मन्नदितेरुपस्थे ।
अग्निर्हि नः प्रथमजा ऋतस्य पूर्व आयुनि वृषभश्च धेनुः ॥'

[6] Percy Gardner, *Hist. Anc. Greece*, (1918), p. 139.

[7] Num. Chron., Royal Num. Soc. Great Britain, 1933, p. 139 f.

Corresponding to the Babylonian practice of assigning farms or pasture-lands to sacred cattle attached to temples, there prevails in India an ancient custom, which ordains that a cow within ten days of giving birth to a calf, and a consecrated bull, — marked, as a commentator explains, with wheel, trident or other symbols, — are not subject to punishment, even if they intrude upon any farms, etc.[6]

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[1] RV. VIII. 101. 15 :—

'माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनां स्वसादित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः।
प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥'

Compare YV. XIII. 44 :—

'गां मा हिंसीरदितिं विराजम्।'

[2] At such a time, the more common custom was probably to kill the cow, calf or bull in honour of a guest, etc. A. B., I. 15 :—

'तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वार्हत्युक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त etc.।'

Uttara-Rāma-charita, IV. :—

'समांसो मधुपर्क इत्याम्नायं बहुमन्यमानाः श्रोत्रियायाभ्यागताय वत्सतरीं महोक्षं वा महाजं वा निर्वपन्ति गृहमेधिनः।'

[3] मैवं मास्ता प्रियेऽहं देवी सती पितृलोकं यदेषि ।
विश्ववारा नभसा संव्ययन्त्युभौ नो लोकौ पयसाऽभ्याववृत्स्व ॥

[4] Kauṭilya, *Artha-śāstra*, XIV. 178, p. 419 :—

'ब्राह्मणस्य प्रेतकार्ये यो गौः मार्यते' etc.

[5] RV. X. 85. 13; AV. XIV. 1. 13.

[6] Manu VII. 242, on which Kullūka :—

'प्रसूतां गां अनिर्गतदशाहां तथा च चक्रशूलाङ्कितोत्सृष्टवृषान् हरिहरप्रतिमासंबन्धिपशून्।'

Cf. Yājñavalkya, II. 166; Nārada, XI. 30, etc.

In the Atharvaveda, whole *sūktas* are devoted to the Celestial Cow,[1] where she is sometimes called Brahma-gavī,[2] Vaśā Gauḥ.[3] or Śataudanā Gauḥ.[4] About the Brahma-gavī, we have already noted that she is the terrible Meni, to whom human sacrifices are offered.[5] She is there regarded as the inviolable cow of the Brāhmaṇas ;[6] and elsewhere the Vaitahavyas are said to have paid very dearly for appropriating probably this very cow,[7] which is said to belong to the Bhṛigus. It is very difficult to disentangle myth from history here ; but, is it possible that, in view of the identification of this cow with the earth given in the sūkta referring to Meni, we have to see here an allusion to some conquest of the territory of the Bhṛigus, by some foreigners ? We cannot, however, forget that in Phrygia also the cow and the bull were held sacred and that the slaughter of an ox was a crime deserving capital punishment, it being believed that their king was originally a peasant, whose " ox-drawn cart was preserved in the temple of Kybele ".[8]

This identification of Iḍā=Aditi=Pṛithivī with the sacred Cow is familiar to the Vedas,[9] as also to the Brāhmaṇas,[10] where it is a very common phenomenon. She often appears as a wish-fulfilling cow,[11] and is no doubt identical with Surabhi of the classical mythology. Should any one doubt this, we confront him with authority of the Sabhā-parva, the Hari-vaṁśa, Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, which mention Surabhi along with Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ilā (or Irā), Saramā, etc. The Harivaṁśa[12] P. mentions them among the wives of Kāśyapa, while the Bhāgavata Purāṇa adds that these are only the names of Mātṛis (mother goddesses).[13] The Kūrma

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[1] AV. VII. 104.
[2] AV. V. 18 ; V. 19 ; XII. 5 ; etc.
[3] AV. X. 10 ; XII. 4 ; etc.
[4] AV. X. 9.
[5] AV. XII. 5.
[6] Ibid. st. 5–6, 17, etc.
[7] AV. V. 18. 10–11 ; V. 19. 10. Read here the original passages to form your own opinion.
[8] Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 111. (1903).
[9] YV. XIII. 43 ; XIII. 49 ; cf. VM. 150 :—" Iḍā, the personification of the off-spring of milk and butter, has a tendency to be regarded as a cow ".
[10] Ś. B., II. iii. 4. 34 = XIV. ii. 1. 7 ; III. ii. 4. 20 ; III. iii. 1. 4 ; II. iii. 4. 34 ; VI. iii. 2. 7 ; T. B., III. xi. 4. 2 ; etc.
[11] Ś. B., II. ii. 1. 21. Cf.

' कामधेनुसुरपादपावुभावेकशोऽपि जगदार्तिनाशकौ। '

—JRASB. VI. 1941, p. 117. Śrī-Malaivarmā's ins., st. 80.

[12] Harivaṁśa P., I. iii. 59 f.; I. iii. 118 ; Garuḍa P., vi (as quoted in Vāchaspatya, Nāgarī ed., III. p. 2471).
[13] Bhāgavata P., VI. vi. 24–26 :—

शृणु नामानि लोकानां मातृणां शङ्कराणि च ॥
अथ कश्यपपत्नीनां यत्प्रसूतमिदं जगत्।

Purāṇa calls the Goddess 'Surabhi', 'Kāmadhenu' or 'Gavāṁ mātā' (mother of cows).[1] Incidentally, we are reminded of the fact that in Bhagavad-gītā, Kṛishṇa, a sun-god, is identified with Śrī, Vāk, Gāyatrī, etc. (which are all forms of the Great Goddess) as well as with Kāmadhuk Dhenu.[2] Can it not be contended that the Gītā is also aware of the identity of the Mother Goddess and the Sun-god? Kṛishṇa identifies himself also with Meru, dolphin (makara), etc., with which the Goddess can be safely equated.

The identification of Aditi = Pṛithivī with the Cow also serves to explain why in the Purāṇas, gift of a cow (go-dāna) is often equated with the gift of the Earth (Pṛithivī-dāna): at times, dhenu-dāna is said to be sarva-dāna,[3] for, we know, Aditi is sarvam.[4] The fertility significance of:go-dāna will, I hope, be apparent from the fact that poor Vilāsavatī, who was so much pining for a child, bestowed a gift on the Brāhmaṇas of crores of cows when her desire was fulfilled at the birth of Chandrāpīḍa.[5] Again, *Kanyā-dāna* is to be followed, according to Hindu rites, by *go-dāna*, *bhū-dāna*, *śālagrāma-dāna*.[6]

But, perhaps, the most noteworthy of all myths, to which this identification of Aditi = Pṛithivī with the cow has given birth, appears in connection with Pṛithu Vainya[7] (son of Vena), which is given in details or is otherwise referred to by most of the Purāṇas.

अदितिर्दितिर्दनुः काष्ठा अरिष्टा सुरसा इला ॥
मुनिः क्रोधवशा ताम्रा सुरभिः सरमा तिमिः ।

cf. Sabhā-parva. xi. 39 f.

'अदितिर्दितिर्दनुश्चैव सुरसा विनता इरा ।
कालिका सुरभी देवी सरसा चाथ गौतमी ।
प्रभा कद्रूश्च वै देव्यौ देवतानां च मातरः ।'

[1] Pūrva-bhāga, XII. 106, 138, 189, etc. Metaphors like the one in 'मनीषितं द्यौरपि येन दुग्धा ।' should also be remembered : Raghu. V. 33.

[2] Bhagavad-gītā, X. st. 28 ; 34 ; 35 ; etc.

[3] Agni P., 213. 7 :—' धेनुदानं सर्वदानम् । '
cf. Matsya P., 205. 3 f ; Agni P., ch. 211 ; 292.

[4] Nirukta, quoted above, p. 45.

[5] Kādambarī (Parab's ed.), p. 148. Note the Parsee conviction referred to above.

[6] A. J. A. Dubois, l. c., p. 223.

[7] Matsya P., X. 12 f. :—

ततो गोरूपमास्थाय भूः पलायितुमुद्यता ॥
पृष्ठतोऽनुगतस्तस्याः पृथुर्दीप्तशरासनः ।
...तथैव साऽब्रवीद्भूमिर्दुदोह स नराधिपः । etc.

Compare Vishṇu P., I. 13. 9 ; Bhāgavata P., IV. 16. 22 ; IV. 17. 18 ; etc. Kumāra-śaṁbhava I. 2 ; Raghu-vaṁśa, II. 3 ; Naishadhīya XI. 10 ; (Read the com. of Nārāyaṇa on the same) ; Harivaṁśa, I. 4. 45 f.; I. 6. 12 f.

It has come to stay as a favourite theme in Sanskrit poetry, but its historicity can hardly be believed in. And yet, that brilliant conjecture of the late Mr. V. S. Karandikar can be correct. He identifies Vainya, the Indian law-giver, who is so much extolled in the Purāṇas for having established civic life on the earth,[1] with the divine fish-man Oannes (or Musarus Oannes). According to Berossus (a Babylonian priest of Bel-Marduk of the third century B. C.), Oannes came up in a morning from the Aerythræan Sea, at the head of a race of monsters to instruct the inhabitants of Chaldæa in all arts and sciences : "in a word", says Berossus, "all the things that make for the amelioration of life were bequeathed to men by Oannes, and since that time no further inventions have been made."[2] In this connection, Mr. Karandikar[3] points out, in his article published in Marathi, that just as Oannes appears in Babylonian tradition ten generations before the Deluge, so also Vainya is said to have lived just ten generations before the Flood, in the Purāṇic account. Vainya, who drinks the milk of the sacred cow, can very well be a form of the Sun-god. At any rate, I doubt not that if not he, his father Vena (or Veṇa) was the same as Śukra or the white sun-god, as is made clear by Vedic evidence,[4] which is confirmed by the Nirukta.

The identification of Oannes with Vainya looked so probable that I was — I admit — misled into the belief that the suggestion of Mr. S. B. Dikshit[5] (which I now find also given in Tilak's *Orion*), regarding the identity of the Indian sun-god Vena and the Latin divinity of love Venus, must be wrong. But this need not be so ; since we have seen that the Mother Goddess is often identified with the sun,[6] and that Venus is the same as Śukra or Attā,[7] which is only an epithet of the Sun-god, as identical with the Supreme Brahman.[8] Again, as Mr. Tilak points out, Vena is to be derived from the rt. *ven* or *vin*, to love. The Nirukta mentions *ven* as kānti-karmā as well as gati-karmā ;[1] so that Vena may signify the solar disc that moves across the sky, as well as the divinity of love.

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[1] Bhāgavata P., IV. 18. 29-32 ; Agni P., XVIII. 14f.

[2] *The Sumerians*, p. 189 ; Das, p. 197 ; etc.

[3] Saha-vichāra, June 1934, Vol. VI. p. 244-245.

[4] RV. X. 123 ; I. 61. 14 ; cf. YV. VII. 16 ; XIII. 3. T. S., I. iv. 8. 1. ; Ś. B,, IV. ii. i. 8 ; Nirukta, I. 7. 3 ; X. 39. 1 ; etc. ; RV. VIII. 41. 3 ; VIII. 100. 5 ; T. S., II. v. 3 ; vide RV. I. 56. 2 :—

'गिरिं न वेना अधि रोह तेजसा ।'

RV. I. 83. 5 :—

'ततः सूर्यो व्रतपा वेन आजनि ।'

[5] Dikshit, p. 66.

[6] Supra, p. 97 ; 101-102 ; etc.

[7] Supra, p. 110-112.

[8] Supra, p. 96 ; etc.; cf. Vishṇu P., III. 11. 93 :—' विष्णुरत्ता तथैवान्नं '

Another interesting tradition, to which the equation of the Mother Goddess and the sacred Cow has given rise, is the fact that Draupadī (a mother goddess), if not her husband, was addressed as 'go'[2] by one of the enemies of her husbands.

The original reason why a cow is to be sacrificed to Allah according to the Muslim religion lies in the fact that she was sacred to the Goddess. And just for the same reason, it is forbidden in India to kill a cow. In Epic mythology, we are told that as "goddesses, cows are a source of good luck not to be struck or killed ;...A sonless man is rescued from his evil state by the gift of three cows."[3] Finally, Apte has rightly compared a Mahā-bhārata passage (referring to Cow as Mother and to Bull as Father), and a Ṛig-vedic one (referring to the Sky-Father and the Earth-Mother),[4] pointing out at the same time that an Atharva-vedic hymn equates Dyaus with Dhenu,[5] etc.

Here I may note the significance of the *taurine* symbol, to which I have already made a passing reference. I am inclined to connect this symbol,—though I cannot be sure if my suggestion is at all probable,—with the sacred *Om*. This means, I connect this symbol with the cow-form of Isis = Aditi, as well as with her Vāk-Sarasvatī-Gāyatrī aspect. It is a curious phenomenon that this Vāk aspect is very often conceived even in later Sanskrit Kāvyas in the shape of a cow, as we shall note below.

Vāg-devatā appears in the Ṛig-veda[6] as associated with all gods ; she is said to help Rudra in stretching his bow to kill his enemies, and she takes an active part in the interest of the people. This is in conformity with her character as a goddess of war and welfare. Vāk or Dhī is called Dhenu.[1] In an Atharva-vedic hymn,[2] she is identified with Dhenu and is said to be Virāṭ, the daughter of Kāma, who is, of course, the same as the Father God Śiva. In the Brāhmaṇas also Vāk is mostly identified with Dhenu,[3] though sometimes with Sarparājñī.[4] We have already referred to the fact that this identity of Vāk-Aditi and Dhenu, Dhenā or Gauḥ is vouchsafed by the Nirukta; but an interesting fact is that it appears also in the Uttara-Rāma-charita,[5] a late Chedi inscription found at Bilhārī, etc.[6] Besides, it is a very common idea in later poems that speech is a goddess or is otherwise to be connected with the supreme goddess Pārvatī.[7] References to Sapta Vāṇīḥ in the Ṛig-veda[8] and sapta-vidhā Vāṇī in the Sabhā-parva only serve to emphasise the identical character of Vāṇī and the Goddess, who can multiply herself at will into seven mothers.

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[1] Nirukta, III. 9. 3 ; 9. 14.

[2] Read A. B. Gajendragadkar's notes (1941) p.314, on Veṇī-saṁhāra, II. 25:— गौर्गौरिति व्याहृता ।

[3] Hopkins, p. 16.

[4] He quotes in P. V. Kane Vol. of Studies in Indology, p. 36, Mbh. XIII 76. 9 :—' गौर्मे माता, वृषभः पिता मे, दिवं शर्म जगती मे प्रतिष्ठा ।'
RV. I. 164. 33 = AV. IX. 10-12 = Nirukta, IV. 21:—
' द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयम् ।'

[5] AV. IV. 39. 6 :—द्यौर्धेनुस्तस्या आदित्यो वत्सः ।
Remember also AV. IV. 39. 2 :—पृथिवी धेनुस्तस्या अग्निर्वत्सः ।
T. B., I. i. 6–10 :—' वह्निर्वा अनड्वान् ।'
Read here RV. III. 57. 1 ; VIII. 14. 3 ; etc., which show that Indra is the same calf as Āditya.

[6] RV. X. 125. Read in this connection an interesting article in JRAS. 1906 p. 373f., where the conception of Vāg-devatā or Śabda-brahma is traced in Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, Persia, etc. Note also that Word is one of the titles of Jesus Christ.

Now, there is an interesting verse in the Ṛig-veda (which seems to be often borrowed upon by later writers), where also we

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1. RV. II. 2. 9.
2. AV. IX. ii. 5 :—
   'सा ते काम दुहिता धेनुरुच्यते यामाहुर्वाचं कवयो विराजम्।
   Virāj appears as the name of Prajāpati's daughter according to the Taittirīya Br. I. i. 10. 6. She is said to have become Rohiṇī after her rape by her father.
3. Tāṇḍya B., XVIII. ix. 21 ; Gopatha B., Pūrva-bhāga,, II. 21.
4. Kaushītaki B., xxvii. 4.
5. Uttara-Rāma-charita, V. st. 31 :—
   धेनुं धीराः सूनृतां वाचमाहुः।
6. E. I., I. 251 f., st. 36 :—
   वाचां धेनुर्ननु भगवती भारती यस्य वश्या।
   Cf. SRB. p. 3, st. 10 :—
   '°प्रपद्ये सारस्वतं किमपि कामदुघं रहस्यम्।'
   Ibid. p. 31, col. i. st. 12 ; also st. 16 :—
   'विद्या नाम...धेनुः कामदुघा...।'
7. Uttara-Rāma-charita, I :—
   विन्देम देवतां वाचममृतामात्मनः कलाम्।
   Raghu., I. 1 :—
   वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
   जगतः पितरौ वंदे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥
   According to Tāntric texts, Śiva or Kāma is identical with Nāda. I have no doubt that this is a very old idea, and that the origin of Śabda-brahma lies in this very conception. The significance of the Bengali custom of blowing a conch (Śaṅkha-nāda) at the fall of lightning (which is the same as Jyotirmayī form of the heavenly Goddess) may now be quite apparent.
8. RV. III. 7. 1 ; Sabhā-parva. XI. 34.

find Devī Vāk identified with Dhenu. According to this verse, Vāk (who is, no doubt, Ambā or Ammā) is the same sound which the beasts make in bellowing.[1] I suspect that the author of that verse wished to connect Ambā or Ammā with the *hambārava* of the cattle. Furthermore, though I think it not impossible that a psalm is connected with a sāman, I do not know if it is possible to connect *Om* with *Amen*.

Leaving aside these hazardous speculations, we turn to something more concerned with facts. The mystic Gāyatrī (or Sāvitrī). mantra, (RV. III. 62. 10) which every pious caste-Hindu mutters in praise of Savitṛi every morning and evening, begins with *Om*.[2] The next three words,—Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ,—signify exactly the things with which Aditi is identified in the Ṛig-veda. The Jaiminīya Upanishad identifies Om with Āditya.[3] It is, therefore, just possible that *Om* signifies the Father God, Nāda or Śiva, and the three mahā-vyāhṛitis his three consorts or Ambikās. But Nāda is the same thing as Vāk ;[4] so also about the Sun and Aditi. Therefore Umā may be aptly called Oṁ-kāra-bījāksharī[5] as in the Annapūrṇā-stotra. I now find my conjecture regarding the identity of Om (= Aditya) and Amen, strengthened by the fact that the Biblical Amen is supposed to be derived from Amen, an epithet of the Egyptian sun-god Ra. *Om* is, according to all devout Hindus, a mystic symbol. The name Amen or Amon is supposed to signify "The Hidden One".[1] "His cult was practically universal in Egypt...... Originally he was probably a god of the dead, but later he became patron of Thebes, and chief god of the empire. As Amen-Ra he was worshipped as the supreme "King of the Gods", a creator and soul of the universe, *inscrutable* and eternal, and the divine father of the Pharaohs."[2] His female counterpart, Ament, was at Thebes equated with Mut, the Mistress and Mother of gods, the world Mother. She was also a sky-goddess, and "is given the head of a lioness, or additional ones of a vulture or lioness,"[3] She was thus none else than Vinatā, who is the same as Siṁhī, as we shall presently learn. Incidentally, no Brāhmaṇa need be told of the great importance, which the worship of waters carries in the Sandhyā prayers, of which Gāyatrī mantra, for the enlightenment of the understanding, forms not the least significant part. Those portions in praise of waters relate to the form of the Goddess known as Sarasvatī.[4] Again, not only among the Zoroastrians, but among the Greeks also existed a rite of maturity analogous to Upanayana : among the Zoroastrians it was Navjot ; among the Greeks it was τελετή.

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[1] RV. VIII. 100. 11 = T. B., II. iv 6. 10 = Pāraskara G. S., I. 19. 2 = Nirukta, XI. 29 :—

'देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति।
सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वागस्मानुप सुष्टुतैतु ॥'

[2] Doubts relating to the identity of Gāyatrī and Sāvitrī may be finally removed by the fact that the Āśvalāyana G. S., lays down that Sāvitrī should be learnt, meaning thereby that Gāyatrī should be studied. (I. 21. 4-5) :—

'अधीहि भोः सावित्रीं भो अनुब्रूहीति तस्य वाससा पाणिभ्यां च पाणी संगृह्य सावित्रीमन्वाह।'

Also read :—'या संध्या सा च गायत्री त्रिधा भूत्वा व्यवस्थिता।
पूर्वा भवेतु गायत्री सावित्री मध्यमा स्मृता ॥
या भवेत्पश्चिमा सन्ध्या सा च देवी सरस्वती।'

—Quoted in Madana-pārijātā, *Stabaka* I (ASB. ed. p. 66-67).

By the way, Vrātyas are those caste-born Hindus who have forgotten the use of Sāvitrī (Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, I. 38.).

[3] Jaim. Up., III. 6. 2 :—'ओमित्यादित्यः।'

Yājñavalkya :—

'ॐकारं पूर्वमुच्चार्य भूर्भुवः स्वस्तथैव च। गायत्रीं प्रणवं चान्ते जप एवमुदाहृतः ॥'

Manu :—'ॐकारपूर्विकास्तिस्रो महाव्याहृतयोऽव्ययाः।'

[4] Ambikā is called :—'शब्दयोनिः शब्दमयी नादाख्या नादविग्रहा।'

(Kūrma P., Pūrva-bhāga, XII. 72.)

[5] Bṛihat-stotra-ratnākara, No. 83, st. 4 (p. 180) :—'कैलासाचलकंदरालयकरी गौरी उमा शंकरी कौमारी निगमार्थगोचरकरी ओंकारबीजाक्षरी।'

Is not the Goddess really Nigamārtha-gochara-karī (i. e., one, who reveals the significance of the Vedas) ?

Recently at Rairh were exhumed the vestiges of a civilisation of some Goddess-worshipping people ; there, along with the figurines of the Mother Goddess and the Svastika, the taurine sign appeared to be the most popular.[5] Both these symbols occur in the Jaugada version of the two Separate Edicts of Aśoka, "wherein are inscribed three svastikas with three *ma's*"[6] or taurine marks. In the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela[7] too, these very symbols are found, but along with a third, at the commencement of the record. In later records, a mark which is often recognised as *Om* and the word svasti occur conjointly. If Svastika can be connected with svasti, I wonder why the taurine symbol should not be connected with the sacred *Om*. Both signs were not only most popular in ancient India, but seem to be often associated with each other (as in Jaugada and Hathi Gumpha inscriptions), and were probably replaced by the words Om and svasti in later inscriptions.

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[1] NCM. p. 9.

[2] Ibid. Italics ours.

[3] Ibid. p. 121; 9; etc.

[4] For a discussion on Sandhyā, read A. J. A. Dubois, l. c., p. 251f.

[5] Vide my remarks in Appendix C, Serial No. (of seals) 5, of the *Excavations at Rairh*, recently published by Dr. K. N. Puri, p. 71.

[6] JASB., 1921. 233.

[7] For Khāravela, see Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, no. 1 ; JBORS. 1917. Dec., p. 486f. ; 1920. 155 ; 1928. 150 f. ; EI. XX. 71f. ; I. H. Q., XIV. 459f. ; 158f. ; etc.

Be that as it may, I am afraid, it is rather unnecessary to connect the taurine with Mauryas, as is done by Mr. Jayaswal;[1] and Pt. Durga Prasad follows him. Like almost all other signs, connected by Mr. Jayaswal with the Mauryas, it is much more ancient than they and lives long after they had disappeared. It occurs in a pre-historic cave at La Pasiega (Spain) along with three vertical lines, one on its left and two on its right.[2] According to Theobald, it "must be considered in an astronomical sense, as Soli-lunar; or if regarded from the stand-point of Nature worship, as of androgynous import, the homologue of the 'crux ansata' on Assurian and Egyptian monuments."[3] A great numismatist and iconographist, Mr. J. N. Banerji,[4] agrees with the suggestion that it has a Soli-lunar significance.

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[1] Proc. Ann. Meeting of the Num. Soc. of India, 1935, p. 11 f.; 1936. p. 8f. JRAS., 1936. 437 f.

[2] G. Baldwin Brown, *The Art of the Cave Dwellers*, p. 74–75.

[3] Theobald, p. 304 f.

[4] I. A.. 1925, 162, fn. 1. Vāk is the same as पञ्चाशद्—or एकपञ्चाशद्वर्णात्मिका मातृका who is praised in the following verse :—

"एवं भूशर (५१) मितभेदाढ्या विद्याराज्ञी माता त्वम्।
तत्सम्भेदादखिलं भिन्नं भावयसि त्वं शब्दमयी॥"—श्रीमातृकास्तुतिः। st. 6.

CHAPTER XVI

Lion, Pig or Boar, Goat and Other Animals

Lion :—is almost as constantly associated with the Goddess[1] as the sacred bull is with her counterpart, especially in later times, when we do not get many representations of the Goddess in the form of a cow. Thus, in Egypt, her most ancient goddess Hathor, " who in pre-dynastic times had been identified with the cow and the heavens ", had become " the lion deity, Sekhet and had subsequently absorbed, or imparted her attributes to every local goddess in the Nile valley, including the hippopotamus-goddess of Thebes."[2] Lions of rare beauty were sculptured in that country as were also rams.[3] W. Max Müller says that chief goddesses like Tefēnet, Sekhmet, etc. assume the forms of lionesses.[4]

Copper statues of lions and bulls were excavated at al-Ubaid, Nineveh, and many other places in Mesopotamia.[5] Sometimes representations of cows and lions are found in graves, cf. a silver cow-head and two heads of lionesses unearthed in Queen Shub-ad's grave.[6] For the Sumero-Chaldæan Innini-Ishtar, like her Phœnician counterpart, was associated with the lion. In Syria, if at Eyuk, Doliche and Malatia, the Father God and the Mother Goddess are represented as, or associated with, the bull and the lion respectively, in other places like Palanga, etc., we find merely lions or bulls guarding the gate-ways of temples, etc.[7] The far-famed shrine at Hierapolis (Membidj) contained, according to Lucian, a statue of Hera along with that of Zeus both of them sitting: " Hera is supported by lions, Zeus is sitting on bulls.''[8] Garstang also gives an illustration from coins, found at Hierapolis, on which the Goddess appears as seated on a lion-throne and the God on a bull-throne.[9] As Maspero writes, the statues of the Mother found in Syria, " sometimes represent her as a sphinx with a woman's head,

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1. ERE. VIII. 368 f.; Myth. A. R., I. 275–6 ; Langdon, 30.
2. *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, Intro., xxi. (D. A. Mackenzie).
3. Maspero, p 302-303.
4. Myth. A. R., XII. 28 f.
5. " At Babylon an image of a goddess whom the Greeks called Rhea had the figures of two lions standing on her knees.'' *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 106.
6. *The Sumerians*, p. 43
7. Garstang, p. 85 ; 134 ; 144 ; 301 ; etc.
8. Ibid. p. 303.
9. Ibid. p. 304 ; ERE. II. 888. In India, a lion-throne (siṁhāsana) becomes a privilege of the king, who is but ' a sun-god in the form of a man ' (nā Vishṇuḥ pṛithivī-pātiḥ).

but more often as a woman standing on a lion passant, either nude, or encircled round by merely a girdle, her hands filled with flowers or with serpent.''[1]

The favourite animal of the Phœnician Ashtarte, as of the Phrygian Dindymede, was also a lion.[2] The rock-tombs at Ayazinn (Central Phrygia) etc. had two lions rampant guarding the entrance.[3] Sometimes in such representations a sacred pillar would occupy the central position of the Goddess.[4] Lydian and Greek coins are known to bear on the obverse heads of lions or lionesses as well as of bulls.[5] Lion was sacred to Rhea-Cybele, who was supposed to traverse the mountains riding on a lion, or else in a chariot drawn by lions.[6] On monuments the lion sits by her side. Bronze and Terracotta figurines of Artemis dating from the seventh century B. C. show her as "holding in her two hands lions, panthers or swans". The famous temple of Apollo Didymæus of Miletus had in its original form "an avenue of seated figures, with a lion and sphinx at the entrance".[7] The same king of beasts adorned the acropolis-gate of Mycenæ, reckoned to be one of the oldest sculptures in Europe.[8] On Roman monuments the Goddess appears occupying a throne placed between two lions.[9] At Syracuse (a wealthy town on the east coast of Sicily, supposed to be founded before the 7th cent. B. C.), a lioness was carried in a procession held in honour of Artemis.[10] At Corinth, lion-headed spouts were used (like *go-mukhas* in India) as outlets for water in the sacred reservoirs as early as the 6th cent. B. C.[11]

The Indian Earth Goddess is also called a lioness in a passage occurring in the Yajurveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[12] and later on the lion is a favourite animal of Pārvatī just as the bull is of Śiva. These animals are often mentioned in juxtaposition in Sanskrit stories etc.[13] The wide prevalence of the bull-and-lion cult (which is the same as the cult of the Sky Father and the Earth Mother) is perhaps vouchsafed by their representations on coins found throughout:India. And if they are found almost invariably in all excavation sites, must we attach a different meaning altogether to these finds? And what about the Mauryan lion and bull capitals of Mathura, Sarnath, Lauṛiya Nandangarh, etc.?[1] These were executed almost certainly in imitation of the Persepolitan capitals, the chief motif in which consisted of two lions, bulls or unicorns placed back to back; and there they are recognized to have been originally connected with the cult of the Goddess. Perhaps, *originally* the same significance was attached to the representations of bulls and lions on the most ancient coins, or in terracotta models,–or even to the Mauryan capitals, if any of them do not belong to Aśoka's period or later. This significance, however, may have been lost sight of very early in India owing to Buddhist influence. We have already made it probable that Meru symbol was borrowed by the Jains. There is no reason why the Buddhists should not have continued the usage of other symbols that were sacred to the Goddess. For Hārītī was not unknown to them.

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[1] Maspero, 158.
[2] ERE. XII. 147.
[3] Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. 184.
[4] Ibid. p. 194–197.
[5] P. Gardner, *His. Anc. Coinage*, p. 77 f.
[6] D. C. A., p. 543.
[7] Fletcher, *Hist. Archit.*, p. 102.
[8] Ibid. p. 72 ; D. C. A., p. 50.
[9] D. C. A., p. 609.
[10] ERE. I. 521, col. ii.
[11] Rhys Carpenter, *A Guide to the excavations of Ancient Korinth*, p. 50 f.
[12] YV. V. 12 ; Ś. B., III. iv. 2. 12 :—
'सिंही असि, सुप्रजावनिः रायस्पोषवनिः'
[13] Pañchatantra, Mitrabheda, Kathā 2 :—
'स हि भगवतो महेश्वरस्य वाहनभूतो वृषभः। ...एतद्वनं चण्डिकावाहनभूतस्य मत्स्वामिनः पिङ्गलकनाम्नः सिंहस्य विषयीभूतम्।'

The pig or boar is a most sacred animal in the cult of the Earth Mother, to be sacrificed to her especially at the time of harvesting or sowing. This is true not only for many primitive or semi-civilised tribes in India, but also for a great many races of ancient times throughout Eurasia. The untutored primitive mind observed that the swine was fertile, and that so were fish and snake. It concluded that all of them must, therefore, be connected with the goddess of fertility and must be regarded as endowed with special favour and protection of that goddess.

In Egypt, pigs were sacrificed annually to Osiris and to the moon. Isis " is represented, down to late times, under the form of a sow, and a sow whether followed or not by her young, is one of the amulets placed in the tomb of the deceased, to secure him protection of the goddess".[2] In Mesopotamia, Nannar, the Moon-god of Ur, was associated with a sow. In Crete, the pig was regularly worshipped.[3] Among the Greeks, it was sacred to Demeter, and was to be sacrificed to her at the autumnal celebrations of Thesmophoria held by women, 'to stimulate the fertilising powers of the earth and the human frame', when phalli and snakes made of dough were dedicated to her.[4] It was otherwise usual to throw cakes and pigs to serpents living in caves sacred to this goddess. The pig was sacred also to Gaia, Rhea, and other forms of the Mother Goddess in classical mythology,[1] and therefore it was to be sacrificed to them. The sacrificial use of swine's blood among the Hebrews[2] is supposed to be " a reference to a form of cult similar to that known in Cyprus, where swine were sacred to Ashtarte."[3]

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[1] Camb. H. I., I. p. 619 f.

[2] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 64.

[3] ERE. I. 524, col. ii. For Corn-spirit as a pig, etc., see *Spirits of the Corn*, etc., I. p. 298 f.

[4] ERE. IX. 822; I. 524, col. i.; D. C. A., 178; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 75. *Spirits of the Corn*, etc. II. 16 f.

In connection with certain Bacchanalian festivals, we are told that men and women in masks " carried individually large phallus on their backs, supported by a suspended basket in the shape of Yoni ", and that they were followed by others who carried a gigantic Phallus along with a platform in the shape of a gigantic Yoni. And when they arrived in a solitary valley, all the phalli were put in their respective yonis. And after *a swine* was sacrificed, the " pairs separated according to their choice, as best as they could do under the masks, and had sexual embrace in honour of the jolly god, and did not return home before the dawn of the day. In this ceremony, the young men that had reached their twentieth year, were especially taken care of by the priestesses (Paculla Mania) who initiated them into the mysteries."[4]

In European folk-lore, the pig is a ' frequent form of the corn spirit ' ;[5] it was hunted in certain seasons of the year. In Germanic mythology it is associated with harvest time as a fertility animal. Tacitus (Germania, xlv) informs us about the amber-traders in the regions around the Baltic (Suevian) sea, called the Æstyans (Æstii), the following :—" They worship the mother of the gods. The figure of wild boar is the symbol of their superstition ; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence."

This reminds us of the Egyptian sow-amulets, as also of the phallic amulets used by some ancient or primitive tribes. At Nimes, the ancient Nemausus, a city in southern France where Agrippa built the famous temple of Diana adjoining the fountain gardens,[6] ham-shaped pieces of coinage were specially made for being " dedicated to the deity of the fountain. One can hardly doubt that they were cheap substitutes for a pig."[7] The north-western limit of the boar cult might perhaps be located in Scandinavia, where the worship was probably introduced by the Phoenicians.[1] The Scandinavian priest-kings "claimed descent from the great goddess Freya, who was connected with the boar. In consequence of this she wore the boar as a crest."[2] Referring to the above-given passage from Tacitus Dr. W. J. Perry observes that because both the Teutons and the Celts used this very emblem, the "Teutonic rulers really belonged to the same family as the Celtic rulers".[3] Not a very satisfactory inference! For, such a deduction would make our Prithivī-vallabha and other Chālukyas, with their boar-crest,[4] brethren of the Teutonic and Celtic rulers.

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[1] J. E., II. 240 ; I. A., 1932. p. 1 ; D. C. A., 522 ; etc.

[2] Isaiah, lxv. 4 ; lxvi. 3.

[3] J. E., II. 240.

[4] *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 106–107.

[5] ERE. I. 524, col. i.

[6] E. B., XVI. p. 460 f.

[7] ERE. III. p. 304, col. i.

In Bengal and Bihar, a pig is sacred to Kālī and the cattle are impelled to gore it to death in a most hideous manner at the notorious Go-krīḍā festival popularly known as Gāy-dāṇḍ.[5] In Madras the cattle are driven over and trample to death a pig buried in the earth upto its neck, and in parts of the Bombay Presidency too it is killed and buried to save the cattle from disease, etc.[6] The boar is 'ceremoniously hunted' in Rajputana as representing Pārvatī, and his flesh ceremoniously eaten. It is offered to Śītalā, the cholera-goddess, in order to appease her wrath.[7] The Gāy-dāṇḍ festival seems to be referred to in a somewhat obscure fashion in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the cows are said to recognize in the boar their very "quintessence."[8]

In a religious fair held in 1871 in connection with a shrine of Pārvatī at Devī-pāṭan, an "ancient village in the Gonda District of

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1. A. C. Das, p. 206 f. 2. Perry, p. 194. 3. Ibid.

4. Note about the Chālukyas the following description from their incriptions which may show their devotion to the cult of the Mother Goddess :—

'सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्ध-राज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायण-प्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलाञ्छनक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां ।' etc.

—I. A. XII. 91 f.; cf. I. A. XIII. 55 f.; XIII. 137 f.

The Kadamba kings also claim descent from Hārītī and Mānavya-gotra :—

'त्र्यार्षवर्त्महारितीपुत्रं ऋषिमुख्यमानव्यगोत्रजम् ।'

—EI. VIII. p. 24 f. Hārītī is already shown by us to be a form of the Great Mother, and I have no doubt Kauśikī was also another form of the same goddess.

5. Risley, *Tribes and Caste*, I. 290 ; I. A., 1928. 137 f. ; 1931. 187 f. ; 1932. 1 f. 231 f. ; etc.

6. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in S. India*, IV. p. 226 ; I. A., 1927. 97 ; 1932. 1f. ; etc.

7. ERE, I. 525.

8. Ś. B., V. iv. 3. I9:—

'अग्नौ ह वै देवा घृतकुम्भं प्रवेशयाञ्चक्रुस्ततो वराहः सम्बभूव तस्माद्वराहो मेदुरो घृताद्धि सम्भूतस्तस्माद्वराहे गावः संजानते स्वमेवैतद्रसमभिसंजानते ।'

cf. ŚB., XIV. i. 2. 11 ; TB. I. i. 3. 6 ; etc.

Oudh, supposed to be one of the oldest seats of Śaiva cult in Northern India'', some 20 buffaloes, 250 goats, and 250 pigs were sacrificed daily at the temple, according to Mr. Benett.[1] There are many tribes, in Chota Nagpur and C. P., which sacrifice to this day a pig to the Earth Goddess, ''to recruit her energies.''[2] This resurrection as it were of her dormant spirit seems to be symbolised in the myth of Boar-incarnation, though its popularity, in political circles or elsewhere, may be due to political or other causes.[3]

The equation Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa = Adonis-Attis suggested previously at once transfers the field of our enquiry beyond India; and the facts that the worshippers of Attis abstained from eating the flesh of swine, that the pig ranked as a sacred animal among the Syrians, and (if we trust Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 54) also among the Phrygians of Hierapolis (who never ate or sacrificed the animal out of reverence towards it), etc., become significant. The analogies of the goat Dionysus and the pig Demeter make it probable, in the opinion of Frazer, that the ''story of hostility of the animal to the god (Attis) was only a later misapprehension of the old view of the god as embodied in a pig.''[4] Robertson Smith also holds that the wild boars annually sacrificed in Cyprus represented Adonis himself.

In fact, without taking recourse to such an hypothesis it is difficult to satisfactorily explain the terms[5] ''Yajña-varāha'', ''Yajña-sūkara'' (= Sacrificial Boar) etc., used in connection with the Primeval Boar, that is said to have uplifted the Earth. The Boar is otherwise referred to as Yajña-purusha, Yajñeśvara, Yajña-bhavana, etc.[6] Vishṇu is often identified with Yajña in the Brāhmaṇas, and this is found in later texts as well.[7] Moreover, in a Ṛig-vedic passage, Rudra is identified with Vahāra,[8] and the Atharvaveda refers to Pṛithivī in association with Varāha.[9]

In the south-western islands of the E. Indian Archipelago, yearly pigs are sacrificed to Upulero, Grand-father Sun, and Upunusa, Grand-mother Earth, at a time when the nunu tree (a species of Ficus) changes its leaves, when it is supposed, the Sun comes down to fertilise the Earth.[1] "The pig is the most important sacrificial animal of Oceania, and is also frequent victim in Africa."[2]

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[1] ERE. IV. 693, col. i.

[2] ERE. V. 129.

[3] Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's explanation (PHAI, p. 156) of the significance of Boar-incarnation is not at all acceptable without considerable reserve.

[4] *Spirits of the Corn*, II. etc., p. 22–23.

[5] Matsya P., 248. 77; Bhāgavata P., III. 19. 9.; Padma P., VI. 165. 5 f.

[6] Bhāgavata P., III. 13. 23, 29, 34, etc.

[7] Ibid. III. 29. 38.

[8] RV. II. 114. 5.

[9] AV. XII. 1. 48:—
‘वराहेण पृथिवी संविदाना सूकराय वि जिहीते मृगाय।’

The Goat, the lamb, the sheep, the ram :— These animals were often sacrificed to Hecate, Artemis, Aphrodite, or (as in Sparta) to Hera.[3] They were also offered to Apollo and Dionysus. Apollo was called *Tragius*, 'god of goats'.[4] According to the Greek tradition, Zeus was suckled by the goat Amalthea in the island of Crete.[5] This tradition is represented on certain faience objects of the Middle Minoan III, where we find a she-goat suckling her kid, just as there are others in which a cow is represented as suckling a calf.[6] And this is further traced to Egyptian mythology and monuments, where the Mother Goddess nourishes her young one, under different aspects.

Now, Apollo was a god of lepers, and the Lord admonishes Moses the following "law of the leper in the day of his cleansing":- " And on the eighth day he shall take two lambs without blemish, and one ewe lamb of the first year without blemish", and the priest shall present these things along with others unto the Lord on behalf of the leper.[7] The Bible testifies to offerings of all sorts, often " in addition to thank-offerings made by fire ".[8] The animals offered to the Lord included lambs, goats, rams, sheep, bullocks,[9] etc., according to early Hebrew tradition; but afterwards we find sacrifices of these animals prohibited.

" Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose *is* the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats ".[10]

Sheep and cattle, we are told by Dr. Seyffert, " could be offered to any gods among the Greeks. As regards swine and goats, the regulations varied according to the different region."[11] Nay, at times, as in the Roman sacrifice named *Suovetaurilia* a combined offering of different animals, e. g. a boar (sus), a ram (ovis), and a bullock (taurus), was made.[1] "In State sacrifices, victims were sometimes sacrificed in great numbers; e. g., at the Athenian festival in commemoration of the victory at Marathon, 500 goats were slain".[2]

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[1] ERE. IX. 822 f ; *The Magic Art* II. 98 f.
[2] ERE. I. 524, col. ii.
[3] D. C. A., p. 552 ; 40 ; 72 ; 271 ; etc.
[4] E. B. 11th ed. II. 184.
[5] D. C. A., p. 24 ; 703 ; etc. Glotz, p. 24.
[6] Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. 122.
[7] Leviticus, xiv. 10 f.
[8] *Universal Bible Dictionary*, p. 421.
[9] Numbers, xv. 5-9 ; xxviii. 7-15 ; Judges, vi. 26.
[10] Isaiah, i. 10-11.
[11] D. C. A., p. 552.

And such State sacrifices are not altogether unknown in India. One harvesting season in India lies in the month of Āsvina or 'Kuār' (<Kumāra ?) (September-October), when Dasehra or Durgā Pūjā festival is held in honour of Durgā or Tārā for ten days of the bright half of that month.[3] The eighth day, known as Durgāshṭamī or Mahāshṭamī, is the most sacred of them. Now, at Tārab (as in other places), a fair is held annually in honour of the Goddess for these ten days, "and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Raja bearing all the expenses." On the morning of the 8th day, the prince sacrifices a bull or a buffalo, in addition to numerous goats. "The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even much debauchery ...The plain is a sanctuary, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence...There is much drinking,"[4] and prostitution plays not the least important part in this samāja, held in honour of Devī Tārā. Kids, sheep, buffalo, etc. form an essential ingredient in the sacrifices offered to appease this terrible goddess, Karālī Kālī: "Parents desirous of sons, families in any great sorrow, vow to Kālī that if a son be given, or the trouble that oppresses them be removed, a kid will be sacrificed to her."[5] Among the hill-tribes of Punjab goats are said to be sacrificed also on the day of Śivarātra (14th day of the dark half of Phālguna = February-March), as well as on the Makara Sankrānta day[6] (the first day of Māgha coming about the middle of January and marking the entrance of the sun into Capricornus). Two days after Kishun Gharī Māvas[7] (the last day of Śrāvaṇa ?) farmers are said to worship their field with the sacrifice of a goat. Lastly among certain British East African tribes, goats were sacrificed in ceremonies to fertilize barren women.[8]

Now, misunderstanding the waywardness or rather the complexities of the primitive religions, Tacitus observes (V. iv.):— "Whatever is held sacred by the Romans, with the Jews is held profane: and whatever in other nations is unlawful and impure with them is fully established...In contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they sacrifice a ram. The ox, worshipped in Egypt for the god

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[1] Ibid. 552; 606.
[2] Ibid. 552.
[3] A. C. Mukerji, l. c., 156; 162; etc.
[4] I. A., 1907. 40–41.
[5] *The Great Temples of India, Ceylon and Burma*, p. 2.
[6] I. A., 1907. 300–301.
[7] Ibid. 301.
[8] *The Magic Art*, II. 316.

Apis, is slain as a victim by the Jews. From the flesh of swine they abstain altogether.'' The fact is that what is sacred to the Goddess or her male counterpart, may be sacrificed for, or as identical with, the divinity, in accordance with the conception contained in the last Ṛik of the Purusha-sūkta, which asserts that the god of sacrifice was himself sacrificed (in the form of an animal) to himself such being the religion of the ancients ;[1] or for the same reasons of veneration and sanctity, and identity with the deity, the animal may be almost taboo to others, who would, under no circumstances, kill it.

Now, we may point out an interesting conception in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, where a she-goat, of 'red, black and white' colour, producing numerous off-springs that take after her, is said to be followed up by a he-goat. The she-goat is identified with Māyā or Prakṛiti and the he-goat with Māyin or Maheśvara. The latter is said to reside in every *yoni*, and is therefore to be extolled.[2] Undoubtedly, he was represented in the Upanishadic days as a *liṅga* ; otherwise, this description becomes inexplicable. He is again identified in that Upanishad with a bull, he fills all the quarters with his lustre and is a ' bhaga-vān ' and ' vareṇya ',[3]—this last being a distinguishing epithet of Savitṛi according to the Gāyatrī mantra. The allusion to the variegated colour of the she-goat can easily be explained by the description of the Earth Goddess given by the famous Mahī-sūkta of the Atharva-veda, where she is said to be ' red, black and tawny'.[4] It is not possible, therefore, to accept the orthodox interpretation offered by commentators like Śaṅkarāchārya,[5] who, I am afraid, may still find great following even among the advanced Sanskritists.

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[1] ' यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् । '
—RV. I. 164. 50; X. 90. 16; etc.

[2] Śvetāśvatara Up., IV. 5 f. :—
' अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः ।
अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते...।
...मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ।
...यो योनिं योनिं अधितिष्ठत्येको यस्मिन्निदं सिंच विचैति सर्वम् ।
तमीशानं वरदं देवमीड्यं...। '

[3] Ibid. V. 2 & 4 :—
यो योनिं योनिमधितिष्ठत्येको विश्वानि रूपाणि योनीश्च सर्वाः ।
...सर्वा दिशः उर्द्ध्वमधश्च तिर्यक्प्रकाशयन् भ्राजते यद्वनड्वान् ।
एवं स देवो भगवान्वरेण्यो योनिस्वभावानधितिष्ठत्येकः ॥

[4] AV. XII. 1. 11 :—
' बभ्रुं कृष्णां रोहिणीं विश्वरूपां ध्रुवां भूमिं पृथिवीमिन्द्रगुप्ताम् । '

[5] Vide *Śārīra-bhāshya*, on Brahma-sūtra, I. 4. 8. Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha (Anandaśram ed.), p. 120 .

The she-goat appears also in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā as producing two or three kids,[1] and this may support our interpretation rather than that of that great commentator. Again it must be clear by now that there is no such thing as a dramatic change in the philosophical outlook from the Brāhmaṇas to the Upanishads, as is supposed by most writers : both are ultimately based on the primitive conception of an all-pervading Yoni and an all-powerful Liṅga. And none even among the most orthodox scholars would deny, I hope, that this conception lies at the root (at least partly) of most of the philosophical systems of the Hindus,—of the ancient Sāṅkhya system, of the Bhagavadgītā,[2] as well as of the modern philosophy of Śrī Rāmakṛishṇa : They are mostly based on the idea of Prakṛiti and Purusha (or Asat and Sat) and of Unity in diversity. All these are pre-historic borrowals, only glorified by wordy elaborations and eloquent ebullitions of faithful commentators and uninformed writers. Etymological explanation of the words Bhagavān, Bhagavatī, etc. may alone suffice to stress the importance of Yoni-cult in Hindu religion. Hence, with Lien Chi Altangi of the *Citizen of the World*, one is constrained to observe that in every country, " the brachmans (Brāhmaṇas) and the priests deceive the people ; all reformations begin from the laity ;...How, how can mankind be guilty of such strange absurdity ... ? Where, I again repeat it, is human reason ? not only some men, but whole nations, seem divested of its illumination."[3]

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[1] T. S., VI. v. 10. 1.

[2] Bhagavad-gītā, VII. 5-14 :—

'अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम्।
जीवभूतां महाबाहो यदेदं धार्यते जगत्॥
एतद्योनीनि भूतानि सर्वाणीत्युपधारय।
...दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया॥'

Ibid. IX. 8-10 :—

'प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः। भूतग्राममिदं कृत्स्नमवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात्॥
...मयाऽध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम्॥'

Read also Bhagavad-gītā, XIII. 19, 21, etc. Compare Kumāra-saṁbhava, II. 7, 10, 13, etc. I must make it clear that I do not mean that the real philosophy of the Bhagavad-gītā (viz. of Karma-yoga) has anything to do with Liṅga or Yoni, though sentences like : 'Anena prasavishyadhvam—esha te = st-vishṭa-kāmadhuk' have been so interpreted, to my surprise, by a very orthodox preacher of Mahārāshṭra named Śankarrao Rajwade (Āhitāgni). (He connects this stanza with certain biological facts.) I am alive to the refined atmosphere of the philosophy of Karma-yoga,—which I regard merely as a counsel of desperation, a log to support a helpless theist weltering in the misery of faith !

[3] B. D. Sattigiri's ed. Letter VI, p. 16-17.

A goat was sacrificed not only to Apollo but also to Pūshan.[1] It was an animal sacred to Pūshan, who is frequently called Ajāśva ('One having goats for his horses')[2] or Āja ('One possessing goats')[3] in the Ṛig-veda. References to goats drawing his chariot are also met with not very rarely in that text;[4] or else they are called his carriers.[5] He is the lord of glowing (śucha or śuch) he-goats and she-goats, as is pointed out by Ekendranatha Ghosh.[6] As a representative of Pūshan, the he-goat plays an important part in the ritual of burial,[7] and there is a whole sūkta devoted to the sacrificial goat Pañchaudana Aja, who is there equated with many things, but especially with Agni: His chest became the earth, back the heaven, middle portions the atmosphere, sides the seas, and flanks the quarters.[8] In the Vedas as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, the morning sun, Rohita, is — it appears to me — referred to as Aja Ekapāda (Ekapad).[9]

Other animals :—If the Goddess appears in the form of a hippopotamus in Egypt,[10] we should expect that in India she should be at least connected with the elephant in some way or the other. Our expectation does not altogether remain unfulfilled, for Nandā, a form of Ambikā, is to be depicted as seated on an elephant.[1] Nay, even like Gaja-Lakshmī, Durgā appears (though rarely) as being sprinkled over by elephants standing on both sides of the goddess.[2] Her consort is Gajāri (Gajārāti) or Kṛitti-vāsas, and one of her sons is Gaja-mukha or Gajānana.

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[1] RV. I. 162. 3-4 :—
'एष च्छागः पुरो अश्वेन वाजिना पूष्णो भागो नीयते विश्वदेव्यः।
...अत्रा पूष्णः प्रथमो भाग एति यज्ञं देवेभ्यः प्रतिवेदयन्नजः॥'

[2] RV. I. 138. 4; VI. 58. 2; IX. 67. 10; VI. 55. 3 f. :—
'रायो धारास्याघृणे वसो राशिरजाश्व। धीवतोधीवतः सखा।
पूषणं न्वजाश्वमुपस्तोषाम वाजिनम्। स्वसुर्यो जार उच्यते।
...आजासः पूषणं रथे निशृम्भास्ते जनाश्रियम्। देवं वहन्तु बिभ्रतः॥'

[3] RV. I. 23. 13.

[4] RV. VI. 55. 6; X. 26. 8 :—
आ ते रथस्य पूषन्नजा धुरं ववृत्युः।

[5] RV. VI. 57. 3 :—
अजा अन्यस्य वह्नयो, हरी अन्यस्य (=इन्द्रस्य) संभृता। ताभ्यां वृत्राणि जिघ्नते॥

[6] RV. X. 26. 6; JASB. (NS. XXVIII.), 1932, p. 89.

[7] V. I., I. 12; RV. X. 16. 4 = AV. XVIII. 2. 55; T. A., VI. i. 2.

[8] AV. IX. 5. 7 f. :—
'अजो अग्निरजमु ज्योतिराहुरजं जीवता ब्रह्मणे देयमाहुः।...अजोऽस्यज स्वर्गोऽसि...।
अजो वा इदमग्रे व्यऽक्रमत तस्योर इयमभवद् द्यौः पृष्ठम्। अन्तरिक्षं मध्यं दिशः
पार्श्वे समुद्रौ कुक्षी॥'

[9] AV. XIII. 1. 6 :—
'रोहितो द्यावापृथिवी जजान तत्र तन्तुं परमेष्ठी ततान।
यत्र शिश्रियेऽज एकपादोऽदृंहद् द्यावापृथिवी बलेन॥'
T. S., III. i. 2. 8 :—
'अज एकपात् तꣳ सूर्य्यं देवमजमेकपादम्।'
Cf. RV. VI. 50. 14; X. 64. 4.

[10] Ta-urt, Ta-ueret, Ta-oer or Thoueris, wife of Set or Sati, worshipped at Thebes as the mother of Osiris.

No doubt, like her other son Kumāra, this Vighneśa was also originally identical with her husband Śaṅkara-Rudra; for the 'mouse' which is a distinguishing attribute of the elephant-god in later times is verily a beast of Rudra according to a Vedic hymn;[3] and if his father is Khaṇḍa-paraśu, Gajānana is Paraśu-dhara (=Wielder of an axe).[4] Other attributes of his can also be legitimately connected with his father, without much difficulty.

But, perhaps, the funniest thing about the Goddess is, I believe, her representation as a cat-goddess Maau (or Atet) in Egypt and as Biḍālī in India.[5] From Herodotus we learn the story of a Greek, who killed a cat and consequently became unlucky. It seems that like the Apis-bulls, scarabs and ibises, cats were also mummified in Egypt. For if the Apis-bulls etc., were identified with Osiris, "every she-cat, at any rate, was regarded more or less as Bubastis (or Bastet) herself."[6]

We now turn to the *winged animals*. Of them, the cock was no doubt, a favourite of Kālikā.[7] There are numerous tribes in Central and Southern India, which sacrifice the fowl to the Earth Goddess or else to the Sun-god; and according to the Purāṇas, Kukkuṭī is the very epithet of the Goddess.[8] In the Vendidad, the cock is held to be the most sacred of all animals excepting the dog.[9] Among the Greeks, Priapus, son of Dionysus and

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[1] E. H. Ic., p. 355.

[2] E. I., XVII. 360.

[3] YV. III. 58 :— एष ते रुद्र भाग आखुस्ते पशुः ।

[4] Halāyudha, *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, I. 18 :—
'हेरम्बो लम्बोदर आखुरथो गणपतिश्च गजवदनः ।
परशुधर एकदन्तो विनायको विघ्नराजश्च ॥'

[5] Matsya P., 179. 12; Agni P. 52. 8.

[6] E. B., VIII. p. 59. Bubastis was identified with Hathor. For the corn-spirit as a cat killed at reaping and threshing, vide *Spirits of the Corn*, etc., I. 280-81.

[7] Durgaprasad, p. 35. Fowls, goats, pigs, fish, lizards, etc. are offered to Kālī; I. A., 1907. 298.

[8] Matsya P., 179. 17.

[9] ABI. V (1924), p. 108; for the cock as a sacred bird, see J. Anthrop. Soc., Bombay, V. 342-362.

Aphrodite, was not unoften represented as a phallus on the head of a cock.[1] In Germany, Hungary, Poland, Transylvania, etc., a cock is annually sacrificed at the reaping of the crop, and is probably identified with the corn-spirit.[2] The Lithuanians sing at the harvest season the following litany :—" O Earth, we give you this cock and hen as free-will offering."[3]

But the peacock appears to me to have played in India that part—though not so prominently,—which was played by the dove outside India : the underlying idea in this connection being that whatever is beautiful must belong to, and be identical with, the Goddess. For a like reason, the Goddess is called Haṁsī in some Purāṇas. We have already noted that the Indian Goddess is adorned with peacock's feathers, or has them for her banner.[4] In Sanskrit literature we get numerous references, whereas terracotta figurines of the Goddess with her crown decked with flowing feathers of the peacock are not altogether wanting.[5] Again, we know that the Greek parallel of this Yoga-māyā, viz. Hera, had a favourite animal in the peacock that sometimes perches on her oak-tree, as, for instance, in a group preserved in the Pelazzo degli Conservatori at Rome.[6] No doubt, in India, Mayūra is appropriated by a son of the Goddess, viz., Kumāra, Pāvaki or Kārtikeya ; but it is at least guaranteed by poetic fancy that the peacock's feathers adorning the ears of Bhavānī belong to that very bird of Pāvaki.[7]

Nor do the Purāṇas leave us here in the lurch ; for among the Mātṛis, the Matsya Purāṇa mentions Kumārī (of the appearance of Kumāra and wearing his apparel) as riding on a peacock, and the Agni Purāṇa calls her Śikhi-vāhinī.[8] The Jats and the Khandhas,[9]

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1. *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 173.
2. *Spirits of the Corn*, etc., I. 277 f.
3. Ibid. II. 49 f.
4. Vide supra, p. 164 ; Harivaṁśa II. ii. 45; Mbh. IV. 6. 8 ; VI. 23. 6; etc.
5. Agrawala, *Mathura Terracotta*, p. 29 ; fig. 26.
6. *The Magic Art, etc.*, II. 142.
7. Meghadūta, Pūrva-megha, st. 44 :—
   'ज्योतिर्लेखावलयि गलितं यस्य वर्हं भवानी पुत्रप्रेम्णा कुवलयदलप्रापि कर्णे करोति ।
   धौतापाङ्गं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः ॥'
8. Matsya P., 261. 24.:—
   'मातॄणां लक्षणं वक्ष्ये... । कुमाररूपा कौमारी मयूरवरवाहना ।
   रक्तवस्त्रधरा तद्वच्छूलशक्तिधरा मता ॥'
   Cf. E. I., XVIII. p. 128 f; Agni P., 145. 10; 50. 19 :—
   'कौमारी शिखिगा रक्ता शक्तिहस्ता द्विबाहुका ।'
   Ibid. 309. 4 :—
   'मयूरवलया पिच्छमौलिः किसलयांशुका । सिंहासनस्था मायूरबर्हच्छत्रसमन्विता ॥'
9. Crooke, l. c., II. 45, 150, etc.

both worshippers of the Great Mother, use it as a totem, and so do the Moris (a sect of the Bhils, named after Mora or Mayūra.).[1] Frazer notes that in the hill tracts of Goomsur, the Earth Goddess "was represented in peacock-form, and the post to which the victim was bound bore the effigy of a peacock", just as she was elsewhere identified with the elephant that was sacrificed to her.[2] The Yezidis, dubbed by some Britishers as the "Devil worshippers of Mosul", perform the adoration of Ta'us (or peacock). "An equation, Ta'us = Tammuz, has been proposed, which explains the rites as a survival of Tammuz worship."[3]

In fact, though this Universal Goddess may choose at a particular place some particular animals as her favourites, she essentially remains the Mistress of all beasts and all birds, both in India and abroad. In India, she is not only the Queen of all serpents, but also the Queen of all birds : She is Suparṇī, Sauparṇī, Śakunī,[4] or Vinatā, in addition to being Nageśvarī, Sarpa-rājñī or Kadrū. She is also Saramā, even if she be a Siṁhī. She can assume the form of any animal, for animals of all forms owe their origin to her.[5] As the Brāhmaṇas aver, she is the support (pratishṭhā) of all ;[6] and even after their birth, she it is who nourishes them all, the men, the beasts and the plants.[7] She is the protectress of all, and is, therefore, to be invoked.[8] She is invoked to protect the cattle by day and by night,[9] and in her wonderful way she supports even the birds in the air.[10] This all-guiding, all-protecting character of the Divine Mother Śivā, Śaṅkarī, or Sarva-maṅgalā, is often referred to in the later, Epic and Purāṇic, literature as well,[11] and the role of the Vedic corn-goddess Iḍā is taken up by the Purāṇic Śākambharī or Anna-pūrṇā, and Sītā is only a form of that goddess.

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[1] *Spirits of the Corns*, etc., II. 29. [2] Ibid. I. 247–48.

[3] ERE. I. 524 ; I. A., 1925. 94 f. Read esp. E. S. Drower, *Peacock Angel*.

[4] Matsya P., 179. 10–12. [5] Ś. B., III. ix. 3. 2.

[6] Ś. B., IV. v. 2. 15 :—'इयं वाऽअस्य सर्वस्य प्रतिष्ठा ।'
A. B., VIII. 1 :—'इयं खलु वै प्रतिष्ठा ।'
Jaim. Up.. I. X. 2 :—'पृथिव्यामिमे लोकाः (प्रतिष्ठिताः).।'
Cf. Ś. B., I. ix. 1. 29; I. ix. 3. 11; II. ii. 1. 19; etc.

[7] Ś. B., III. ii. 4. 20; IV. i. 2. 27; VI. iii. 2. 7; T. B., III. xi. 4. 2; etc.

[8] RV. X. 100 (All stanzas end in) :—
'आ सर्वतातिं अदितिं वृणीमहे ।'

[9] JASB. 1932, p. 16; RV. VIII. 18. 6 :—
'अदितिर्नो दिवा पशुमदितिर्नक्तमद्वयाः । अदितिः पात्वंहसः सदावृधा ॥'

[10] RV. I. 72. 9 :—'मह्ना महद्भिः पृथिवी वि तस्थे माता पुत्रैरदितिर्धायसे वेः ।'

[11] Hopkins, 78f.; 81f.

She is pre-eminently the wife of Paśupati or Rudra, to whom all the beasts belong.[1] It is only sufficient to read a single Atharvavedic Sūkta[2] to convince oneself of the intimate connection of this god with different beasts, even in Vedic period.

The connection of the Goddess with the animals in general may be conveniently illustrated by a few typical examples only. To Artemis "all beasts of the woods and fields, in fact all the game, were dear and sacred."[3] Homer conceived of the Earth-goddess "as the mother not only of corn, but of cattle and of human offspring."[4] The Aegean Goddess is the "mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds, and fishes,"[5] of which one or the other might accompany her. The relation of bulls, stags, ibexes, lions, etc., is clearly visible in the heraldic representations of the Ægean religious art, especially in the later Minoan period.[6] In the Atharvaveda, the Goddess, as the mother of Indra, is represented as residing in the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the serpent (Pṛdāku), and the cows, as also in the lustre, the fire, the Sun, a Brāhmaṇa, men and gold.[7] The Harivaṁśa P. associates the Goddess with cocks, goats, ewes, lions, tigers, etc.[8] In connection with an image of Chaṇḍikā, worshipped by an old and pious Draviḍa, Bāṇa says that with her were associated goats, mice, hinds, black snakes, etc.; and he describes them by the same epithets as are applicable to her devout worshippers.[9]

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1. AV. II. 34. 1; Ś. B., XII. vii. 3. 20.
2. AV. XI. 2.
3. D. C. A., 71 f.; W. S. Fox. 1. c., p. 182 f.; Myth. A. R., I. 276.
4. *The Magic Art* etc., II. 128.
5. Glotz, p. 245f.; cf. Camb. A. H., Vol. of Plates, I. 194f., where it is recognized that both 'mythology and cult suggest that the Greek Lady of Wild Animals has affinities with the nature goddess of the Bronze Age.'
6. Glotz, p. 240.
7. AV , VI. 38. 1-2 :—

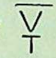
   ' सिंहे व्याघ्र उत या पृदाकौ त्विषिरग्नौ ब्राह्मणे सूर्ये या ।
   इन्द्रं या देवी सुभगा जजान सा न ऐतु वर्चसा संविदाना ॥
   या हस्तिनि द्वीपिनि या हिरण्ये त्विषिरप्सु गोषु या पुरुषेषु । इन्द्रं या देवी...॥ '

   A different interpretation is also possible here.
8. Harivaṁśa, II. iii. 6.
9. Kādambarī (Parab's ed., p. 397-401):—

   ' प्रबलकूर्चधरैश्छागैरपि धृतव्रतैरिव, स्फुरदधरपुटैराखुभिरपि जयपरैरिव, कृष्णाजिनप्रावृताङ्गैः कुरङ्गैरपि प्रतिशयनैरिव, ज्वलितलोहितमूर्धरत्नरश्मिभिः कृष्णसर्पैरपि शिरोधृतमणिदीपकैरिवाराध्यमानाम्...जरद्द्रविडधार्मिकेणाधिष्ठितां चण्डिकामपश्यत् । '

CHAPTER XVII

Some designs

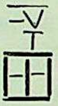
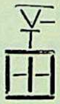
The *triangle*, the *life-symbol*  , the *cross*, the cross-and-ball or *Ujjain* or *Mālava* symbol, the *triscelis*, etc.:—It might be sufficiently clear by now that the ancient symbols from even very distant countries have to be studied with reference to one another. The devices appearing on the punch-marked coins were in fact so studied by Mr. Theobald; but unfortunately he found little following, with the result that the interpretations suggested by him of many symbols, though correct, were altogether ignored by most of the Indian numismatists. He had also suggested phallic interpretation of many of them, connecting them with Nature worship.

In order to avoid misapprehension it must, however, be made clear that it is just likely that these symbols might have originally carried one meaning to the primitive mind (that attributed sexual significance to most of the phenomena in Nature, being, perhaps, utterly mystified by the facts relating to life and death and especially to sex), and might have carried in some cases an absolutely different meaning to his descendant, some thousand years later,—a meaning altogether divested of its sexual attribution. The symbol continues, the meaning is lost. "The blind man leads the blind" (says an Upanishad) faithfully into the wilderness, and hardly anybody guesses now that the fish held by the bride in marriage ceremonies of certain provinces once symbolised the phallus! It is hoped, these abominable practices will in due course be put an end to. The sooner we do it, the better for us, the barbarous Indians.

For the same reasons, the interpretations of these symbols, found in the Tāntric texts, cannot be accepted *in toto*. It is not unlikely, that they, while preserving a greater part of the tradition, did not, perhaps, keep up very faithfully the original values of these symbols. They differ among themselves as to the exact meaning of at least some of the symbols, and seem to have invented new meanings for slightly differing variations of the same device. The primitive mind was, perhaps, too simple to make the hyper critical attempt of identifying each and every little stroke of the symbols, as is done by these Tantras; though it is probable, such identifications were not altogether unknown. To explain :—

The meaning of these symbols can easily be gauged, because, as already noted, they are often not far removed from what they actually signified. Thus the significance of a *delta* or a *triangle* is quite obvious: it stands for the supreme Female Principle. But the Tantras slightly differ among themselves as to its exact interpretation, some taking it for "Śakti, while creating the Universe", others for "the Eternal Prakṛiti", while still others even attribute meaning to each of its sides.[1] The primitive man, while regarding the Female Principle as both eternal and creative, might not have gone to the length of identifying each side of the triangle. Again, we cannot be at present certain, I believe, that any of the extant Tāntric texts was composed before, say, the seventh century A. D., although Bāṇa[2] and others refer to books on Tantra and Mantra in their works. The connection of a triangle with the cult is, however, vouchsafed by its occurrence on a stone at Stonehaven, where it is accompanied by a fish symbol.[3]

According to Herodotus (iii. 28) the sacred bull Apis has its forehead marked with a white triangle. In Memphis were found certain bronze figures of Apis, which had their fore-head marked in triangular pieces of silver.[4] According to Svami Satyanand, this custom of marking the fore-head of a bull with a triangle is still in vogue in India.[5]

An allied symbol is  which occurs at the end of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela,[6] in which the Svastika and the taurine occur at the beginning. It also occurs as , at the beginning of an inscription in the Bagh cave[7] (one of the caves of the

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[1] 'ब्रह्माण्डादिकटाहान्तां तां वन्दे सिद्धमातृकाम् । यदेकादशमाधारं बीजं कोणत्रयात्मकम् etc. ॥'—Kādimata, p. 2.
'त्रिकोणरूपा योनिस्तु...। शक्तिरेकादशस्थाने स्थिता सूत्रे जगत्त्रयम्।
विश्वयोनिरिति ख्याता सा विष्णोर्दशरूपकम् ॥' Jñānārṇava, ch. X.
'त्रिकोणकुण्डलीमात्रा नित्या श्रीप्रकृतिः परा।'
Kālī-vilāsa-tantra, XXII. 33. cf. I. A. 1906. 283f. Durgaprasad, p. 25.

[2] 'धूमरक्तालक्तकाक्षरतालपत्रकुहकतन्त्रमन्त्रपुस्तिकासंग्राहिणा'
—Kādambarī (Parab) p. 399.

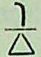
[3] Theobald, 206; 232; etc.

[4] Wallis-Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 85.

[5] *The Origin of the Cross*. p. 13.

[6] I. H. Q., XIV. 470.

[7] E. I., XIII. 163.

Udayagiri-Khandagiri groups), which ends with a Svastika. Divested of its railings, it occurs in the upper storey of the Manchapuri caves or Vaikuntha-Gumpha.[1] Theobald wrongly calls it a food receptacle for birds ;[2] for on the Kumrahar pillar, it occurs as  (inverted, with the end of the rod curved, and without the so-called "two ears on one side."). Here it obviously represents the unification of the Male and Female principles in nature, the so-called Yūpa standing for the Male and the delta for the Female. The union of the two symbolises Life : so this is probably the 'life-symbol', the *crux-ansata* or *ankh*, of the Egyptians, as is already pointed out by certain scholars.[3] Ankh is a sacred emblem, symbolising the union of sexes, generation and enduring life. Jablouski, however, thinks that it is a phallus.[4] It is variously named as 'the key of life', 'the handled cross' or 'cross potencée', and is found in the hands of all the Egyptian deities. On a bas-relief of the XIIth dynasty, the goddess Ankit is represented as holding the end of such a cross near the nose of the king Usertesen III, and she is supposed to utter the following words which we find engraved there :—"I give thee life, stability, purity, like Ra, eternally".[5] It was borrowed by the Phœnicians and the whole Semitic world, and on Phœnician and Hittite monuments it is found in the hands of kings and priests, who in this respect imitate the Egyptian Pharaohs. It is found "on bas-reliefs, tombs, pottery, jewels, coins from Sardinia to Susiana, along the shore of Africa, in Phrygia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia...Its extreme symbolical importance led the peoples who borrowed it from the Egyptians to combine it with such emblems of their own as presented an analogous form or suggested a cognate idea."[6] On Phœnician monuments, it is thus associated with the tree of life, the lotus flower, etc., or is

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[1] Ibid. 159.

[2] Theobald, 226; 248; etc.

[3] ERE. III. 326, col. ii; E. I., XIII. 163. The Egyptian life-symbol is ☥; the Minoan, ; obviously the latter is (and is recognised as) a modified form of the former. The Phœnicians, however, borrowed the Egyptian sign without any modification. Vide Evans, I. 280 ; II. 740-746 ; etc. Maspero, p. 572-73 ; Glotz. p. 237-38.

[4] Compare Wallis-Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, p. 128; *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 8.

[5] ERE. III. 326, col. i. Ankit or Anqet, "the third deity of the elephantine triad", is called the Lady of Sati. "She was associated with the fertilising waters of the Nile. She is figured wearing a crown, or headdress of upright feathers. In one representation...she is standing suckling a young king." (NCM. p. 11) According to Lanzoni, she was associated by the Greeks with Vesta.

[6] ERE. III. 325 col. ii.

" *grafted upon the cone* representing the goddess Ashtarte or Tanit, 'she who gives life'."[1] (Italics ours). Among the Greeks it was anthropomorphised to represent the Mother-goddesses Aphrodite, Harmonia, Artemis of Ephesus, etc.

According to the Tantras,[2] a triangle may contain a svastika,—as if to remind the archæologists of the goddess of Hissarlik having the same symbol (svastika) on her pubic parts. The Tantras also hold that a circle represents the female divinity, just as a dot denotes the male. Pt. Durga Prasad[3] has already characterised such a figure having a dot in a circle, and flanked on both sides by taurine designs (see Theobald, fig. 169) as a phallic symbol.

The significance of a *cross* has been adequately dealt with by Thomas Wilson and others. According to S. Beal, the cross is one of the oldest signs used to represent the earth. He points out that a Syrian inscription, found in Si-gan-fu in the Shen-si province (China), states that the Almighty fashioned the earth in the shape of a cross.[4] In the religious art of the Aegeans the star-sign representing the Mother Goddess passes into various forms of the cross.[5] "At Knossos the respository in which the Serpent Goddess was found contained a marble cross with equal arms, another of faience and a seal-impression of an elongated cross....The cross marks the forehead of the bull—as, in Egypt, it marks the flanks of the cow Hathor. It divides the sun into quarters or alternates with it. We see it formed of two double axes placed at right angles".[6] Glotz believes that the cross *possibly* migrated hence to Palestine "along with so many other elements of Ægean civilisation", especially with the worship of Zeus Kretagenes.[7] "And we find this Cross worn as magic amulet by the Egyptian soldiers in battles as early as the eighteenth dynasty....In another old vase painting, Demeter—the goddess of marriage—holds in her hand a rod....and at the bottom, three crosses are painted".[8]

According to Reville, the Mexican cross was called 'the tree of life' or 'the tree of fecundity'.[9] The *triscelis* is only a variation of the svastika, as may be realised without much difficulty from its occurrence on the funerary pottery of Nal and other places, where five-handed figures also occur in common with the four-handed svastika. Theobald takes three arms of the triscelis to represent the Babylo-Assyrian trinity ; but in the case of the four arms of the cross, the fourth arm denotes in his opinion the Goddess. In union with the Chaldæan male triad (corresponding to Indian Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśa), she seems to him to combine in her symbol (the cross), 'four persons and one god '.[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] I. A., 1906. 253 f.

[3] '*Observations on the Silver Punch-marked Coins of Ancient India*' (Benares, 1931), p. 16.

[4] I. A., 1880. 67f.

[5] ERE. I. 142. col. i.

[6] Glotz, p. 255 f.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *The Origin of the Cross*, p. 204 f.

[9] ERE. III. 325, col. ii.

Repetition of the same symbol was, perhaps, intended to emphasize the multiplication of the divine energy, and we may not wonder if we find in the so-called '*Ujjain symbol*' (the 'star-sign' of Sir Arthur Evans) circles, known as 'balls', sticking to each of the four arms of the cross.[2] The cross itself symbolises union or unification of the male and female principles of Nature ; the balls, standing for the female principle, may, therefore, only serve to indicate the predominance of the Goddess. The suggestion regarding the significance of the cross may not be, therefore, doubted. On a typical specimen of the Mother Goddess found at Phaistos, we find a cross on one side of her enormous flanks and a triangle on her pubis.[3] In Cretan mythology the cross is connected with the Mother Goddess and her son.[4]

The *spectacle-mark*[5] of Theobald similarly represents the male principle in union with the dominating Mother, and is to be found on a stone at Dyce Aberdeen "on which also occur six snakes and a sceptre with a triśūla ".[6] Inclusive of a triscelis it occurs also at Ulbster Stone, Caithness, where Theobald takes it to be connected with Nature worship. The triscelis, he regards here as symbolising the fertilising power of Nature, and he shows that it occurs frequently on some sculptured stones of Scotland (e. g., Nigg stone of Ross-shire), where it is accompanied by a dove.[7] Lastly, I may note,—though this, perhaps, goes against my otherwise plausible hypothesis regarding the meaning of a circle,—that the 'spectacle mark' occurs in connection with the Mycenean Goddess, etc., where Sir Evans has definitely proved them to be the shields of the Earth Goddess.[8]

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[1] Theobald, p. 227 ; cf. Matsya P., III. 16 :—
'एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो भागा ब्रह्म-विष्णु-महेश्वराः ।'
The triscelis also appears as an emblem of Zeus and Baal. T. Wilson, *The Swastika*, p. 778 f.

[2] Supra, p. 107.

[3] Glotz, p. 243.

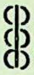
[4] Ibid. 245 f.; 255 f.; etc.

[5] Or, 8-shaped shield of the Earth Goddess.

[6] Theobald, 199.

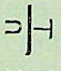
[7] Ibid. p. 202.

[8] Evans, III. 314-317 ; I. 307 ; cf. Glotz, p. 235.

The meaning of the so-called '*Indian Caduceus*',  may, I hope, be now intelligible, if we realise that it is only a combination of three circles or balls and one rod, which is represented as piercing those circles. I may point out that this symbol occurs in the innermost sanctuary of Hera-Atargatis, who is depicted along with her spouse Adad-Hadad-Rimmon on the coins of Hierapolis ; both of them stand outside the shrine along with their favourite animals (lions and bulls) and on both sides of it, while the symbol occupies a central position.[1] An account of this shrine is handed down to posterity by that versatile writer of Syria, Lucian (second century A. D.), who tells us that the Syrians themselves could not determine in his days whether that central symbol stood for Dionysus, Deucalion, or Semiramis. But undoubtely, it signified a male divinity and on it perched a dove.[2]

I may also note that on the Mycenaean golden ring (depicting the Goddess with her sacred tree, reduplicated double axe and other symbols), a device, which may be characterised as a transition stage between the ' spectacle-mark' and the 'Indian Caduceus', is found, and is taken by some scholars as representing the male consort of the Mother Goddess.[3] It is just likely that we may not be right in differentiating this symbol from the one described by Lucian (the so-called Deucalion's mark).

Elsewhere I have pointed out that the 'Tau-cross or (Aśokan) Brāhmī na-like design ' occurs on a conical seal in India. Tau-cross, T, is found in connection with the serpent goddess at Knossos.[4] Ezekiel speaks of people who have it on their forehead, and a Neolithic idol at Phæstos or Phaistos bears it on its sides.[5]

The *steel-yard* symbol found on ancient Indian coins reminds me, I must admit, of the letter  occurring in the Golgi inscription. Or, it may be rightly called (as they do at present) Thor's hammer, which is nothing but paraśu or kuṭhāra, so sacred to Thor = Donar = Śiva and the Goddess. It is one of the favourite weapons of the Indian divinities.[6] And it is with such a big weapon that even a fowl or a chicken is to be killed according to the Gonds, if it is to be sacrificed to the Earth-Mother.[7]

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[1] Garstang, p. 304, fig. 42.
[2] Langdon, p. 37.
[3] Camb. A. H., II. 613; Vol, of Plates I. p. 200.
[4] *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 71 ; Evans, I. 496, 561, 619, etc.; Glotz, p. 256.
[5] Glotz, p. 256.
[6] Agni P., 50. 1-2; etc.
[7] ERE. I. 144, col. i.

We may briefly refer to the *bow-and-arrow* symbol that makes its appearance on ancient Indian coins. As a goddess of war and destruction, the Universal Mother is not content with an axe only : she often wields in addition the bow and the arrow, which are sacred to her in numerous countries.[1] And if we find the representation of a *Pūrṇa-kumbha*, *Pūrṇa-kalaśa* or *Maṅgala-kalaśa*, it can be confidently explained as that which the Vedic Aryans used in soma-sacrifices, and this is almost certainly identical with the one, which is found in the paraphernalia of a Hindu lady in the family way, i. e., a kalaśa is sacred to the Goddess of fertility.[2] References in connection with Bāṇa's Vilāsavatī may suffice to illustrate this point. Fertility signifies auspiciousness and holiness, so that in building a temple (devatāyatana), portions of it should be adorned with the figures of auspicious birds, Śrīvṛikshas, svastikas, ghaṭas, mithunas or amorous couples, creepers, etc.[3] In fact, everything that is good looking is supposed to be auspicious, and hence, connected with the Goddess of auspiciousness.

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[1] Evans, II. 48f.; 842f.; etc. Hopkins, p. 224; Delaporte, 139; 309 f. D. C. A., 71; I. Taylor, 302; J. E., II. 206f.; Agni P., 50. 2, 8–9, 19, etc.

[2] RV. III. 32. 15 ; IX. 62. 19 ; IX. 63. 13 ; etc.
Kādambarī (Parab), p. 136 :—
'...पूर्णकलशाधिष्ठितपक्षके ...शयनशिरोभागविन्यस्तधवलनिद्रामङ्गलकलशं ...गर्भोचितं शयनतलमाधिशयानां...विलासवतीं ददर्श।'
Ibid. p. 141–2 :—
'मणिमयमङ्गलकलशयुगलाशून्येन...द्वारेण विराजमानं...सूतिकागृहमदर्शत्।'
Ibid. p. 128–9 :—
'क्षीरतरुपल्लवलाञ्छनैः...शातकुम्भकुम्भैः...गवामधः सस्नौ।'

[3] Bṛihat-saṁhitā, 55. 15 :—
'शेषं मङ्गल्यविहगैः श्रीवृक्षैः स्वस्तिकैर्घटैः। मिथुनैः पत्रवल्लीभिः प्रमथैश्चोपशोभयेत्॥'

CHAPTER XVIII

Some Tribes

In the fore-going pages, we have substantiated some identifications of Indian tribes suggested by previous writers, and have ourselves offered some new ones. Here we shall note a few more. In Ch. II, we have emphasised that the long-headed Mediterranean (Brown) race, extending over Sahara-Arabia-South-India zone has inhabited Egypt, Northern Africa, as well as southern portions of the Continent from the remotest times. We have indicated that not only this race, but some fair (?) brachy-cephalic population also migrated from the West to the East, *via* Mesopotamia and Arabia, by land as well as by sea. Already we have supported this hypothesis by not a few arguments based on mythological and other considerations. In this chapter we shall try to support it with further evidence.

First of all, I should draw attention of the readers to that very happy suggestion of a Madrasi scholar, Mr. S. Śrī-kaṇṭha Śāstrī, regarding the identity of the Maruts and the Amorites. He says :— " It is very tempting to identify the Subaræans with the Sobharis or Saubharis, and the Martu with the Marut people."[1] He notes that F. Max Müller has proved that the Maruts first appear as mortals in the Ṛig-veda ;[2] but he misses the full significance of this identification. The Maruts are the same as the Amartyas or Amaras.[3] The Martus appear as Amorites in the Bible, Amurru in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, and Amurra or A-mu-ur-ri on the Babylonian monuments. Indeed, certain Egyptian inscriptions call the land east of Phœnicia and north of Palestine " the land of the A-ma--ra ".[4] If they are called Suras in India, the region east of Phœnicia and north of Palestine was, no doubt, Syria proper. And if the Syrians represent the Suras of Indian tradition, the Assyrians could well stand for their traditional rivals, the Asuras of Indian mythology. The close proximity of their occupied territories necessitated their quarrel. F. Max Müller points out that the Maruts are referred to in the Ṛig-veda as men of the mountains (girishṭha), whose chariots were drawn by horses. Biblical tradition refers to the " Amorites that dwell in the mountains ".[5] " They made their chief centre in Cœlo-Lebanon, between the two ranges"[1] (viz., the Lebanon and the Anti-lebanon). From another authority also we learned :—"The Amar, or Amor, of the text is chiefly the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-lebanon mountains, the modern Beka'a...Only in the later cuneiform texts the old expression Amurru...is used so vaguely that Phœnicia and even neighbouring countries are included",[2] as, for instance, in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.[3] In Egyptian records "only two great Syrian peoples are figured on the monuments, the Amorites and the more northern Hittites".[4] The connection of the Amorites with chariots and horses will, perhaps, be apparent when we realise this their intimate connection with the Hittites. Frequent references are made in the Bible to "their witchcraft and impure mysteries", and the Israelites are supposed to have learnt "their wickedness from the Amorites the masters of witchcraft, whose books they kept hidden under Mount Abarim".[5] We are reminded of the cunningness that the Amaras often practiced against the Asuras according to some Brāhmaṇa texts and Purāṇas.

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[1] I. H. Q., XVI. p. 522 f.

[2] Vedic Hymns, S. B. E., Vol. I.

[3] Amara-kośa, st. 7–9 ; st. 1266.

[4] J. E., I. p. 528f.

[5] Joshua, x. 6. " From the beginning to the end the Amorites maintained their character as bold mountaineer warriors." (*Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 21).

The Bible refers to an Amorite, "whose height *was* like the height of the cedars, and he *was* strong as the oaks."[6] From this it may be legitimately inferred that an average Amartya—Amorite was quite a tall and well-built person. And this, I may point out, is partly borne out by Egyptian monuments, where they "are shown as a tall and fair people".[7] From Syria proper, they descended down the Euphrates after the weakening of the "kings of Sumer and Accad", and they conquered Babylon by about 2225 B. C., according to J. H. Breasted,[8] and others. That great king Hammurabi or Khammurabi (identified by some with Amraphel of the Bible) was the sixth in the Amorite line of kings at Babylon, and his descendant Ammisatana is called 'king of the vast land of Martu'. "Their remains are found all over Palestine, and some of the largest cities such as Lachiṣh and Gazer were their strongholds at one time."[9] Their connection with Palestine as well as with the Hittites is brought out more plainly by nothing than by that cryptic Biblical passage :—" Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem : Thy birth and thy nativity *is* of the land of Canaan ; thy father *was* an Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite."[1] Again we learn, that " the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains."[2]

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[1] Annett, p. 14. [2] J. E., I. 528f. [3] Maspero, p. 140.

[4] Flinders Petrie, *Eastern Exploration: Past and Future*, p. 24.

[5] J. E., I. 528f. Indian tradition asserts that the Asuras often defeated the wily Suras and were a very powerful confederation. From history we learn:—"As the great Assyrian kingdom waxed, Syria waned, and Damascus was destroyed by Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, who conquered all Syria (middle of 8th century B. C.)." SCD., p. 487.

[6] Amos, ii. 9. [7] Annett, p. 14.

[8] *Ancient Times*, p. 128. [9] Annett, p. 14–15.

The western scholars admit that no satisfactory etymology of the word " Amorites " is available.[3] In the opinion of an authority, the name 'Amorites' was "obscure even to the earliest writers."[4] The name of an Amorite king *Akvaruvash* mentioned in a Hittite inscription is supposed to be Aryan. " Nothing is known of their history after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites."[5] Some scholars point out that in the following Biblical passage the Amorites and Philistines appear to be synonymous :—" And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath ; and the coasts thereof did Israel deliver out of the hands of the Philistines. And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites."[6]

But who were these Philistines ? I identify them with clan (=gotra), whose name is mentioned as Palasti in the Ṛig-veda,[7] Pulasti in the Yajurveda and the Taittirīya Saṁhitā,[8] Pulastin in the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā,[9] and Pulastya in later literature, where their eponymous ancestor appears among the seven Ṛishis (or wise men), who never existed. It is as absurd to believe in their existence as in star-myths like those concerning Dhruva and others, for they appear according to Indian tradition as the seven stars of Ursa Major. Any way, here again, as in the case of Yadus, Bhṛigus, etc., we have names of clans or tribes appearing as names of persons, which entirely invalidate the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas, on which Dr. S. N. Pradhana, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri and others have built their mighty edifices.

Champollion[10] was the first to connect the Philistines with people mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, etc., as Purosata, Purusati, Pulista, Pulasati, Pulesatha or Pulesti.[11] From a Biblical passage,[1] which mentions Philistim as an offspring of Casluhim (the brother of Caphtorim and *a son of Mizraim*),[2] it had been already concluded that they were of Egyptian origin. Probably, this account in the Genesis indicates that they came to Philistia by way of the sea, across the island of Crete. Indeed, there are passages in the Bible which trace their migration from Caphtor :[3]—They are the " remnant of the country of Caphtor".

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[1] Ezekiel, xvi. 3.
[2] Numbers, xiii. 29.
[3] J. E.. I. p. 528f.
[4] J. E., I. p. 528f.
[5] *Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 21.
[6] 1 Samuel, vii. 14.
[7] R. V., III. 53. 16 :—
'ससर्परीरभरत् तूयमेभ्योऽधि श्रवः पाञ्चजन्यासु कृष्टिषु ।
सा पक्ष्या नव्यमायुर्दधाना यां मे पलस्तिजमदग्नयो ददुः ॥'
[8] YV. XVI. 43; TS. IV. 5. 9. 1.
[9] Kāṭhaka S., XVII. 15.
[10] *Dictionnaire Hieroglyphique* ; Maspero, p. 463.
[11] These are the variants I find in different text-books. J. E., X. 1. ii ; etc.

It is a matter of surprise for me that the above-given Ṛig-vedic stanza mentions the Palastis with Pāñcha-janyāḥ kṛishṭayaḥ or five tribes. For the Bible refers to " five lords of the Philistines ; the Gazathites (the people of Gaza, whose ruins were recently excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell Ajjul), and the Ashdothites (of Ashdod, or Azotus of the New Testament, identified with modern Esdud), the Eshkalonites (of Askelon, 'the naval arsenal' of the Philistines and the most beautiful of their cities), the Gittites (of Gath, 'the city of giants', identified with Tell es-Safi, 16 miles east of Ashdod), and the Ekronites (of Ekron, famous for the sanctuary of Beel-zebub,[4] identified with modern Akri, a few miles south-west of Ramleh)."[5]

Now in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, Pulasti is juxtaposed to Kapardin, which means 'wearing braided hair'. It is, therefore, conjectured by some that Pulasti here denotes '(people) wearing the hair plain'.[6] We do not know the exact meaning, but it is just possible that they put on " a casque surmounted with plumes " as the Pulasati did.[7]

In an inscription found at Tell-el-Amarna (Egypt), the name of their king is read as Subandu or Subandi.[8] No Indian scholar can miss the fact that this name is very akin to that Sanskritic name Subandhu, which is borne not only by a great Sanskrit poet, but also by certain kings[9] in historical times. Therefore, inspite of a majority of scholars including Stade, Adam Smith, etc., who would take the Philistines to be Semites, I find it convenient to believe with Hitzig, Maspero, Annett, etc., that they were non-Semitic, probably akin to the insular and continental Greeks.[1] Might be, they were already a mixed populace while in Crete, since as George Adam Smith says, " early Crete was full of tribes from both east and west " ;[2] or if the dominant racial element among the Philistines was not the so-called Indo-European, speaking proto-Vedic tongue, (for which supposition there may not be, perhaps, much ground), it could well be the Brown Stock, i. e., the dark Mediterraneans or Iberians.

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[1] Genesis, x. 14.

[2] Assyrian *Musr*, modern Arabic *Masr*, from which certain Indian languages have *Misr* or Misar, = Egypt, ancient Kemi or Kemit.

[3] Deuteronomy, ii. 23; Amos, ix. 7; Jeremiah. xlvii. 4; etc.

[4] 2 Kings, i. 2-6. [5] Joshua, xiii. 3. [6] V. I., II. p. 8; Y. V., XVI. 43.

[7] Maspero, p. 464:—"It is easy to distinguish the Pulasati by the felt helmet which they wore fastened under the chin by two straps and surmounted by a crest of feathers." "The feather head-dress of the Philisti on Egyptian sculptures is like that of a head on the Phæstos disc.". F. Petrie, *Eastern Exploration : Past and Future*. London, 1918, p. 21.

[8] JRAS. 1911. 44-45.

[9] E. I., XIX. 262; etc. The head of the Philistine pantheon was Dagon, who, according to the Bible was worshipped at Gaza (Judg. 16. 21-30) and Ashdod (1 Samuel, 5. 1-7; 1 Chronicles, 10. 10).

It was in the days of the Egyptian king Shishak, identified with Shoshenk I, (the first king of the XXII dynasty) that Philistia was overrun by the Egyptians,[3] as we learn not only from sculptures on the southern wall of the great temple at Karnak, but also from the Bible :—

Dagon, Dagan or Dagān is " not an exclusively Semitic god. He existed in Palestine before the coming of the Philistines, as is ahown by the name Dagan-takala in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, and by the occurrence of the place-name Beth-Dagān in an inscription of Ramessu III." (ERE. IX. 843. i.). In Babylonian and Assyrian texts, the name appears as Da-gan, Da-gan-na, Da-gan-ni, or —as in a Tell el-Amarna inscription,— Da-ga-an. It occurs in many personal names or titles of kings etc., and is popularly derived from the Hebrew word *Dag*, meaning fish. He is supposed to be a fish-god, (C. Martindale, *The Religions of the World*, p. 41). W. Müller, Lenormant, Hronzy, etc., refer in this connection to the legend narrated by Berossus, according to which seven beings, half-fish and half-man, emerged out of the Ærythrean Sea and taught the inhabitants of ancient Babylonia in various arts and crafts of civilisation. The first of these was Oannes; the last, Ōdākōn, is identified with Dagon. They are probably identical with the Sumerian fish-gods Han-ni and U-di-a-ki. I strongly suspect that, of these, Dagon or U-di-a-ki or Udaki corresponds to the Indian Matsyāvatāra of Vishṇu (a son-god), just as Oannes corresponds to Vainya (probably a form of the Sun-god). This fish-incarnation of Vishṇu is supposed to have saved Manu, the ancestor of the human race, and taught him the civilisation which he transferred to his progeny. If Vishṇu's wife was Śrī or Lakshmī, representing, in her form of Sītā especially, vegetative prosperity, that of Dagān was Nisaba, a corn-goddess. The cult of Dagān extended all the way from Babylonia to the shores of the Mediterranean. On *Dagon*-worship, see ERE. IV. 386. i. f.: NCM. 55; *Univ. Bib. Dict.* 119.

" Dagon his name ; sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish : yet had his temple high
Rear'd in Azo'tus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds "
—Milton, *Paradise Lost.* I. 462.

[1] Maspero, p. 698; Annett, p. 16 ; etc.

[2] *Hist. Geog. Holy Land*, ch. 9.

[3] H. G. Wells, l. c., p. 263; *Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 446.

"And Judah did evil in the sight of the Lord,...

For they also built them high places, and images, and groves, on every hill, and under every green tree,...

And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem ".[1]

"From this time onward...the Philistines fade in importance."[2] It is not impossible that they migrated to eastern countries about this time.

Now, immediately after Pulastya are mentioned in the list of the Saptarshis, Pulaha and Kratu; and we learn that the Eteo-Cretans or 'real Cretans' and the Pelasgi were probably the oldest inhabitants of the island of Crete.[3] The Pelasgi are referred to by Ephorus as a warlike people of Arcadia that subsequently spread over Greece. In the Odyssey, the Pelasgians are found in Crete, while in the Iliad they appear as a tribe allied to the Trojans. They are said to dwell in Asia Minor and had a town named Larissa.[4] Thracian Cabiri was also attributed to the Pelasgi, and the Iliad (xvi. 133 f.) refers to :—

"Great King, Dodona's Lord, Pelasgian Jove,
Who dwell'st on high, and rul'st with sov'reign sway
Dodona's wintry heights ;..."

According to Herodotus, the Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece offered "sacrifices on hill-tops to the god of the sky, whom after-generations called Zeus ".[5] Our sage Pulaha corresponds in some measure to their eponymous hero Pelasgus, who is variously represented as a dweller of Thessaly or a king of Argos.[6] The latter is possibly identical with Inachus, son of Oceanus and Tethys, about whom we learn from another source that he was the first king of Argos (in Thessaly) and was regarded by the Pelasgians as the founder of their race.[7] The wide distribution of the Pelasgians has led certain scholars to believe that the name represents an epoch rather than a tribe. The equations Pulahas = Pelasgians and Kratus = Cretans are already suggested by Dr. Banerji-Sastri.[8] To the Pelasgi or else to the Eteo-Cretans are attributed the Cyclopean fortresses at Argos, Tiryns, Mycenæ, etc., which are "remarkable for the various contrivances to protract the defence of the interior after the enemy had conquered the outer walls, and for a deficiency of flank defences...These circumstances are found in some of the ancient hill-forts of India".[1] Even if we refuse to attach any importance to these or other similarities, there are certain remarkable peculiarities common to the original Cretans and some inhabitants of this country.

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[1] 1 Kings 14. 22–25.
[2] Wells, l. c., p. 263.
[3] Karl Baedeker, *Greece*, p. 418.
[4] W. Smith, *Hist. Greece*, p. 13; 56 (London, 1900).
[5] C. Oman, *Hist. Greece*, p. 39.
[6] Ibid. p. 22.
[7] W. C. Taylor, l. c., p. 211.
[8] J. B. O. R. S., XII. 126f.

In the Egyptian mural paintings of the time of Thotmosh III are depicted certain people in Mycenæan dress. They are mentioned as magnates of Kefto, Kefti, or Keftiu, and are said to belong to the islands that are in the sea. Keftiu is modern Crete, Kirid or Kriti, or the country of Caphtor mentioned in the Bible. The Caphtorim and the Philistines seem to be also mentioned in the Bible as Cherethites and Pelethites, who are included among the body-guards of David, son of Jesse.[2] In view of the variety of forms, which the name Crete assumes, I do not think that the suggestion regarding its identification with Kratu is altogether improbable. Egyptian influence in Crete is visible from very early times, whether in Bronze Age implements, ceramics, pictorial writing or in other arts and crafts. A vase of Aragonite, labelled 'a vase of Kefti-stuff' was found in the tomb of Thotmosh IV. Vases from Crete are found not only in Egypt, but also in the Troad and Syria, thus proving commercial traffic with these Asiatic countries. About the Eteo-Cretans we learn that they "maintained themselves until a late period in the neighbourhood of Præsos placed in Sittia hill in the east of Crete". The Minoan Palace, excavated in Crete, appears to be set on fire (?) presumably by some victorious conqueror from the North, perhaps the Achæans from Thessaly. In the light of the latest research, the "fair-haired Achæans" or Achæi occupied Greece in quite early times, and "differed in material culture from the Mycenæan Pelasgians and agree with the Celts of the North".[3] The Cretans are represented in paintings as dark-haired, and not fair-haired. After all, the southern and south-eastern drift of the Achæans and other tribes may not be violent, and it is just possible that they merely "crept in, tribe by tribe, seeking not political conquest but new lands and homesteads". The picture-script borrowed by the Cretans from the Egyptians underwent a linear modification, and there are huge masses of clay tablets stored in chests, (that are unearthed from the Palace of Minos at Knossus), still awaiting decipherment. Their language is unknown! I have little doubt that it is akin to Dravidian or to Vedic Sanskrit. In support of the Dravidian hypothesis, it may be pointed out that Cretans, men and women alike, are represented in Egyptian paintings as dark-haired.[1] Again, both Herodotus and Strabo record a tradition in connection with the origin of the Lycians, according to which "the hero Sarpedon, an Eteo-Cretan and brother of Minos, went over from Crete to the southern shores of Asia Minor, and after having driven the aboriginal Milyans, settled in their country with his followers, whose descendants called themselves Termiles"[2] (Τερμι'λαι) or Dramiḷas (?). As already seen, according to Herodotus the Lycians had a custom, in which he thought they differed from all others, but which they had no doubt borrowed from the Egyptians, viz., that of taking their name from their mothers rather than from their fathers. We have noted that like the Lycians the Draviḍians also reckoned the maternal ancestry in the family line and that S. Indian kings often took their names after their mothers.

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[1] W. C. Taylor, l. c., p. 211f.

[2] 2 Samuel viii. 18; xv. 18; xx. 7; 1 Kings i. 38; 1 Chronicles xviii. 17; Flinders Petrie, *Eastern Explorations*, etc., p. 18. Beeton, 63,

[3] SCD. p. 3.

Besides, it is already pointed out by certain scholars that the "culture type presented by the finds in these tombs (i. e., the 'Pāṇḍu-kulīs' in Tinnevelli, Chingleput, Madura and Salem districts of the Madras Presidency), as well as the burial customs indicated, formed no isolated thing,—they have their counterparts in the old tombs of Crete, Cyprus, Anatolia, and to some extent of Babylonia...Affinities with Crete and Cyprus seem to be greater, in the golden masks and ornaments (head-bands)".[3] Another author vouchsafes that the multiple-legged cists found at Perumbur (Chingleput district) and numerous other places in the Madras Presidency "resemble the terracotta chests (larnakes) found at different places in the Island of Crete".[4] Lastly, we learn that C. A. Autran has already shown how it is possible to derive Aegean personal and place names from Draviḍian roots.[5]

I am further disposed to identify the Lycians with the Ṛichīkas of Indian tradition, who are often called Bhārgavas or are otherwise intimately associated with them.[6] The Phygians were in close contact with the Lycians according to history. It is, therefore, no wonder that in "funerary architecture, Lycia draws its inspiration chiefly from Phrygia in the arrangement of the tomb" etc. (E. B., II. 539. i). Lycia and Pisidia, indeed, marked the southern boundary of Phrygia, which is at times supposed to have included northern Lycia. (Beeton, 189).

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[1] *The Iliad of Homer*, Intro. (Everyman's Library, 433), p. xiii.

[2] Maspero, p. 203; E. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I. bk. i. ch. 3; Herod. I. 173; VII. 29; Strabo, XII. 8. 5; XIV. 3. 10.

[3] M. R., 1924, Dec., p. 670f.; cf. Richards, l. c., p. 11; etc.

[4] R. D. Banerji, *Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, (1939), p. 13.

[5] "Mithra, etc."; Annals Arch. Anthrop. XXIII. p. 61.

[6] Rāmāyaṇa, I. 75. 21–23 :—
'इदं च वैष्णवं राम धनुः परपुरञ्जयम् । ऋचीके भार्गवे प्रादाद्विष्णुः स न्यासमुत्तमम् ।
ऋचीकस्तु महातेजा पुत्रस्याप्रतिकर्मणः । पितुर्मम ददौ दिव्यं जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः । '

Now Ramessu (Ramesses) III is said to have defeated in about 1190 B. C. a confederation of certain invaders named Pulasati Uashasha, Takrui (Tzakarai or Zakkara) and Danauna, who came by land as well as by sea.[1] Of these, Uashasha have been identified by Brugsch with the Ossetes.[2] We may guess that this name probably represents Vasishṭha, who is always mentioned in the list of the seven sages.[3]

The Vasishṭhas (styled as Śvityañchaḥ) appear in the Ṛig-veda, the Vārāha-gṛihya-sūtra, etc., as Dakshiṇatas-kapardāḥ[4] i. e. ' wearing

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Rāmāyaṇa, I. 61. 11 :—' भृगुतुङ्गे समासीनमृचीकं संददर्श ह । '

According to the 'Genealogical Tree of the Bhṛigus', set up by V. S. Sukthankar on the authority of the great Epic (ABI. XVIII. p. 4), Ṛichīka is a great grandson of Bhṛigu and grand-father of Paraśu-Rāma.

[1] Maspero, p. 461f.; G. Childe, p. 73.

[2] Maspero, p. 464.

[3] Mbh. XII. 335. 29f.:—

' मरीचिरत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ॥
वसिष्ठश्च महातेजास्ते हि चित्रशिखण्डिनः । '

Compare Bhāgavata, III. 12. 22 :—

' मरीचिरत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।
भृगुर्वसिष्ठो दक्षश्च दशमस्तत्र नारदः ॥ '

Bhāgavata, IV. 29. 43 :—

' मरीचिरत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।
भृगुर्वसिष्ठ इत्येते मदन्ता ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ '

Sabhā-parva 11. 18 f. The lists given in Matsya P., IX. 27, Vishṇu P., III. i. 32–33, Bhāgavata P., VIII. 13. 5, etc. differ from the Bhārata list, but Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, (E. C. Sachau's tr. London, 1914) ch. XLV, agrees with it.

[4] RV. VII. 33. 1 :—

' श्वित्यञ्चो मा दक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धियंजिन्वासो अभि हि प्रमन्दुः।
उत्तिष्ठन् वोचे परि बर्हिषो नॄन् न मे दूरादवितवे वसिष्ठाः ॥ '

Vārāha-G. S.:—

' दक्षिणतस्कपर्दा वसिष्ठानां, उभयतो भार्गवकाश्यपानां, पञ्चचूडा अङ्गिरसाम् । '

Gobhila-putra quoted in Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit., (Max Müller, 1860) p. 53 f.

' दक्षिणकपर्दा वासिष्ठा, आत्रेयास्त्रिकपर्दिनः ।
अङ्गिरसः पञ्चचूडा, मुण्डा भृगवः, शिखिनोऽन्ये ॥ '

Madana-pārijāta, 4th stabaka p. 361 :—

' दक्षिणतः कमुजा वसिष्ठानामुभयतोऽत्रिकश्यपानां, मुण्डा भृगवः, पञ्चचूडा अङ्गिरसो etc, । ' For the coiffure of the Zakkara, see below, p. 230.

knotted hair (turned) towards the right'. Hence it is supposed that Kapardins alluded to in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā in juxtaposition to Palasti refer to the clan of Vasishṭhas. Now the Tṛitsus are also described in like terms as Śvityañchaḥ and Kapardinaḥ, and are likewise associated with Sudās in the Dāśarājña fight.[1] They are, therefore, identified with the Vasishṭhas. Here arises a problem for us, for I propose to identify the Tṛitsus with Tyrseni, who "appear to have been the most numerous after the Pulasati, next to whom came the Zakkala".[2] "The Tyrseni", we learn, "may be distinguished by their feathered head-dress".[3] The people mentioned by the Greeks as Tyrseni or Tyrrheni are supposed to have been called by the Romans Etrusci or Tusci, and by themselves Rasena.[4] They inhabited a province in the central Italy known after them as Etruria or Tuscia, and some writers refer them to the Pelasgian stock.[5]

Out of the seven Ṛishis, names of the first three only now remain to be explained. We have already adduced some grounds to suppose that Aṅgiras is identical with the Fire-god, who is often mentioned as Aṅgiras or Aṅgiras-tama, 'the best of the Aṅgirases'.[6] I am wellnigh convinced—though I do not propose to give here any reasons for my conviction—that Marīchi is nothing more than the 'ray' (of the Sun), which is, no doubt, its etymological meaning. And Atri is connected with the Moon, by some Kāvyas and inscriptions. This connection is probably the same as is found between Marīchi and the Sun, or between Aṅgiras and the Fire, and it need not necessarily forbid their being names of some tribes. Aṅgirases were very probably a clan or a tribe; and so, perhaps, might have been the Marīchis and the Atris. Yet the identification of the Atris with the Achæans (who are mentioned as Akhkhiyava,

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[1] RV. VII. 83. 8 :—
दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वत: सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् ।
श्वित्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनो धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त तृत्सवः ॥

[2] Maspero, p. 464.

[3] Ibid.

[4] SCD. 209. Compare, however, E. B., VIII. p. 783f.:—" The name (Etruria) is the Latin equivalent of the Greek Τυρρηνία or Τυρσηνία, which is used by the Latin writers, also in the forms Tyrrhenia, Tyrrhenii ; the Romans also spoke of Tusci, whence the modern Tuscany."

[5] SCD. 209.

[6] RV. I. 31. 1 :—
त्वमग्ने प्रथमो अङ्गिरा ऋषिर्देवो देवानामभवः शिवः सखा ।
RV. I. 1. 6; I. 31. 2; I. 74. 5 ; I. 78. 3.; VIII. 74. 11; etc.
Ś. B., I. iv. 1. 25:—' अङ्गिरा उ ह्यग्निः । '
Ś. B., VI. iv. 4. 4 :—' अङ्गिरा वाऽअग्निः ।'

Akkhayava, Akaiuasha, Akaiwasha or Ekwesh in certain Hittite documents and the inscriptions of the XIXth dynasty)[1] as that of the Aṅgirases with the Zakkaras or Zakkalas, appears to me very improbable. The Zakkaras[2] (Tikkara or Tzakarai) are a tribe mentioned along with the Pulasati in the inscriptions in the temple of Medinet Habu, built by Ramessu III, and are known to have Greek features. They have the same coiffure as the Pulasati. (Cf. Supra, p. 228).

But there does not seem to be much difficulty in identifying the Danauna with the Indian Dānava. In Tell el-Amarna tablets the Danauna or Danunu are mentioned along with Luku or Lukku[3] as coming " from their islands ",—a term which the Egyptians used rather vaguely to denote countries beyond the Mediterranean. The same tribe seems to be mentioned as Danaon in certain Asiatic monuments and as Danaos in Greek legends.[4] Again the texts of Ramesses or Ramessu III sometimes gives the simpler form, Danau, instead of Danauna.[5] Their position is located by that of their associates mentioned above. They could not be very far from Cilicia, which lies immediately to the west of Syria, along the southern coast of Asia Minor.

I propose to identify the Cilicians with the Kālakeyas (sometimes referred to as Kāleyas) of Indian tradition.[6] Their country " was from its geographical position the high road between Syria and the West ".[7] " Cilicia bordered upon Syria, from which it was separated by Mount Amanus ; its chief cities were Tarsus and Anchiale, both founded by Sardanapalus."[8] The proximacy of the Cilicians and the Syrians necessitated their conflict. And in the Padma Purāṇa,[9] wherein the Suras are extolled, the Kālakeyas or

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[1] E. B., I. 120; XXII. 504. i; W. Smith, l. c., p. 16; 18; etc. ERE. IX. 841. ii; Childe, p. 72–73 ; 'ch' in Achæans is pronounced like 'k'.

[2] Maspero, 463–5; 470–1; 584; etc. ERE. IX. 841. ii; E. B. XXII. 504. i.

[3] Luku are evidently the people of what later on came to be known as Lycaonia, a region bounded on the W. by the Phrygia, on the S. W. by Pisidia, *on the S. by Cilicia*, on the E. by Cappadocia and on the N. by Galatia. On Paul's missionary tours through Lycaonia, read The Acts, 14; 16. 1–8; 18. 23; 19. 1; 2 Timothy 3. 11. Can the Lukku, living by the side of the Danaos and the Cilicians, be identified with the tribe of Rakshas of Indian mythology ?

[4] Maspero, p. 360; Childe, p. 72–73.

[5] Maspero, p. 462.

[6] Mbh. I. 66. 34f.; Bhāgavata P., VI. 6. 35; Matsya P. VII. 24; etc.

[7] *The Universal Bible Dict.*, p. 106.

[8] W. C. Taylor, *The Student's Manual of Anc. Hist.*, p. 76.

[9] Padma P., V. 19. 181f.:—

' कालेया इति विख्याता गणाः परमदारुणाः ।
ते तु वृत्तं समाश्रित्य नानाप्रहरणोद्यताः ।...

Kāleyas are mentioned as a very vile, notorious confederacy, using diverse deadly weapons and fighting against the Suras (here called Devas), the followers of Indra. The Kālakeyas are said to possess a gigantic form and are called the best of the Danu-jas (sons of Danu) or merely Dānavas, from whom they are at times differentiated.[1]

Here I must suggest an equation, which I had myself unhappily persisted in refusing to accept almost upto the very last moment; and so, I have denied to myself the use of some valuable references which are not available here in Poona (a land notorious for the dearth of good libraries), where this thesis is being printed. We may briefly note, that in a Ṛig-vedic verse Turvaśa is mentioned in juxtaposition with Bhṛigus and others.[2] The Mahābhārata makes Turvasu a grandson of Śukra Bhārgava (who was himself a grandson of the sage Bhṛigu). The Epic and Purāṇic tradition makes Turvasu an ancestor of the Yavanas[3] (Javans or Ionians). Their country, Ionia, lay along the coastal districts of Lydia and Caria, which, along with Mysia, formed the western boundary of Phrygia. In the opinion of certain scholars, Troas (Troja), the western part of Mysia, was itself known as the Lesser Phrygia,[4] wherein lay the city of Troy or Ilium. The Iliad immortalises this town and makes Hector say :—

> " ... the wealth of Troy,
> Its brass, its gold, were once the common theme
> Of ev'ry tongue ; our hoarded treasures now
> Are gone, to Phrygian and Mæonian shores
> For sale exported, costly merchandise,
> Since on our city fell the wrath of Jove ".[5]

ततो वृत्रवधे यत्नमकुर्वंस्त्रिदशाः पुरा ।...
शतक्रतुं पुरस्कृत्य दधीचेराश्रमं ययुः ॥...
कालकेयैर्महाकायैः समन्तादभिरक्षितं (वृत्रं) ।...
ततो युद्धं महदभूद्देवानां सह दानवैः ।...
हतशिष्टास्ततः केऽपि कालेया दनुजोत्तमाः ।
विदार्य वसुधां देवीं पातालतलमाश्रिताः ।'

[1] 'दनुस्तुदानवाञ्जज्ञे दितिर्दैत्यानजीजनत् । काला तु कालकेयांस्तु... ॥'
—Padma, V. 37. 105 f.

[2] RV. VII. 18. 6.

[3] Mbh. I. 79. 39 :—' तुर्वशोर्यवनाः स्मृताः ।'
Matsya P. 34. 30 (Ānandasram ed.):—
' तुर्वसोर्यवनाः सु(स्मृ)ताः ।'

[4] W. C. Taylor, *The Student's Manual of Anc. Hist.*, p. 75.

[5] Bk. XVIII.

It is, therefore, perhaps rightly supposed that the "so-called siege of Troy really implied the efforts made by Greek traders to break a trade monopoly long enjoyed by the feudal princes of the city".[1] Again, it is pointed out that the "Trojans were early immigrants from the Baltic peninsula," and that "their rulers have Greek names, probably because *they were Greeks*".[2] (Italics ours).

I now quote again what I have already characterised as a "very important" tradition :—

"And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn and Heth
And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite,
And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite,
...And afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad''.[3]

Z. A. Ragozin regards this portion of the Genesis as "the oldest and the most important document in existence concerning the origins of races and nations".[4] He adds, however, that "in order properly to understand it and appreciate its value and bearing, it must not be forgotten that EACH NAME IN THE LIST IS THAT OF A RACE, A PEOPLE OR A TRIBE, NOT THAT OF A MAN. It was a common fashion among the Orientals—a fashion adopted also by ancient European nations—to express in this manner the kindred connections of nations among themselves and their differences. Both for brevity and clearness such historical genealogies are very convenient''.[5] Elsewhere he wisely remarks :—"It is not too much to say that, while popular tradition always claims that the eponymous ancestor or city-founder gave his name to his family, race or city, the contrary is in reality invariably the case, the name of the race or city being transferred to him. Or, in other words, the eponym is really only that name, transformed into a traditional person by a bold and vivid poetic figure of speech, which, if taken for what it is, makes the beginnings of poetical history wonderfully plain and easy to grasp and classify.''[6]

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[1] SCD. p. 524.

[2] Ibid. The Biblical tradition, however, makes Javan the forth son of Japhet, and a settlement of his descendants seems to be referred to, along with that of the descendants of Tubal (another son of Japhet), who are mentioned by Assyrian inscriptions as Tubla and by classical geographers as Tibareni (See Isaiah, 66. 19; *Universal Bible Dict.*, p. 314; etc.). "The descendants of Javan also occupied Syria and Macedonia." (Ibid. p. 230).

[3] Genesis. x. 15–18; cf. 1 Chronicles, i. 13–16.

[4] Chaldea, (London, 1887) p. 131.

[5] Ibid. p. 131–32.

[6] Ibid. p. 134–35.

If we follow the rational reasoning of M. Ragozin, the above quoted Biblical passage yields, even for the students of Indian history, ample interesting material. Sidon, supposed by some writers to be " the most ancient commercial city in the world ",[1] may not, indeed, be the original habitat of the Chetis, Chedis, or Chaidyas, whom we find in India probably migrating from place to place, until one of their tribes settled in Jubbulpur district with their capital at Tripuri (modern Tewar). Yet, few Indian scholars may now doubt that the Gargas or Gārgyas, being identical with the Girgasites or Girgashites, came from the land of Canaan. I do not suppose (for reasons of my own) that the Biblical Canaanites are to be equated with the Kāṇvas ; but I do think of the possibility of the Hivites being Śibis. For, as in the Biblical tradition, the eponymous ancestors of the Gargas and the Śibis appear as kins even in India.[2] Along with the " five lords of the Philistines, and all the Canaanites, and the Sidonians ", the Bible refers to " the Hivites, that dwelt in mount Lebanon, from mount Baal-hermon unto the entering in of Hamath ".[3] We also hear of them further south, at Gibeon (five miles north-west of Urusalim or Jerusalem) and Shechem (40 miles from Jerusalem on the road to Nazareth), where they seem to be also called Amorites.[4] The original habitat of the Girgasites perhaps lay in the regions just to the east of the sea of Galilee, around the city of Gargesa (about 20 miles east of the Jordan). Once they are mentioned, along with the Amorites, among " the men of Jericho " (a town about four miles west of the Jordan and 20 miles from Jerusalem). They are often mentioned in the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Bible) together with the Amorites, the Hivites, the Hittites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Rephaims, etc.[5] One does not know if the last are to be equated with the Rebhas or Raibhyas ;[6] but I should be reluctant to identify the Perizzites with the Parśus, in view of the fact that the latter are mentioned in the Ṛig-veda in

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1. *Student's Manual of Anc. Hist.*, p. 80.
2. ' गर्गस्य चैव दायादः शिबिर्विद्वानजायत ।
   स्मृताः शैव्यास्ततो गर्गाः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।...
   गर्गाः संकृतयः काव्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥ ' —Matsya P.

   Garga-yavanas, often mentioned in the Mbh., etc., may be a section of this tribe that mixed with the Ionians.
3. Judges, iii. 3; cf. Joshua xi. 3.
4. *The Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 207.
5. Genesis, xvi. 12–21; Deuteronomy, vii. 1; Joshua, iii. 10; xxiv. 10; xxiv. 11.
6. Mentioned as Rebhāsaḥ in AV. XX. 127. 5.

association with the Pṛithus, and are, therefore, the same as Persians (who were not far removed from the Parthians).

The afore-given Biblical quotation refers also to Heth as an off-spring of Canaan. Biblical scholars agree that the Hittīm or 'the sons of Heth' referred to in the Old Testament are the same as the Hittites mentioned elsewhere in the same text. Critics, denying the possibility of their being an important race spoke of the 'unhistorical tone' of Biblical passages like 2 Kings, vii. 6 :— "Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us". But recent researches have more than vindicated this Bible tradition. The Bible generally makes them (along with the Amorites, etc.) only an important element in the population of Canaan.[1] Indeed, Egyptian hieroglyphs speak of a powerful principality of Kheta, whose princes vied with the Egyptian Pharaoh in power and magnificence. They acquired power in the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, but are supposed to have ultimately succumbed to the attacks of the so-called "sea nations" in the twelfth century B. C. The Babylo-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions also attest to the power of the Khatti, Khâti, or Hatti.[2] Their language is known, through the efforts of Hronzy and others, to belong to the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Hronzy has also added to the number of deities, already known to be related to those in the Vedic pantheon (e. g., Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Nāsatyā, Daksha, etc.) the name of Aknish or Agnish, who is the Vedic Agni.[3] These Hittites, Hatti, Khatti, Khâti or Kheta are, no doubt, the Khatiyas or Kshatriyas of Indian literature. The Hittites had dark eyes, "and their black hair they wore in pigtails" or *śikhās*. (*Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 206 ; Maspero, 353–4). They had certain Mangoloid characteristics.

Their mother-goddess Nenattash or Ninattash is supposed to correspond to Ishtar, and to be connected with the Sumero-Babylonian Nina.[4] She is, no doubt, the Vedic Nanā. Another of their goddesses, Kulittash or Gulittash, is identified with the Sumero-Babylonian Gula, the "great lady doctor",[5] who appears to be mentioned in the Atharvavedic phrase : 'Uru-Gūlāyāḥ'.[6] The sun-

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1. 1 Kings, ix. 20.
2. ERE. VI. 723. i ; Maspero, 18 f.; 126 f., etc.
3. E. B., XII. 604. ii. The identification of Dakash with Daksha, suggested by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, need not be challenged, as it is quite obvious.
4. E. B., XII. 607. i.
5. Ibid.
6. AV. V. xii. 8. This phrase occurs in a hymn, which, as its caption (Sarpa-visha-nāśanam) suggests, is a charm to cure the snake-bite. The exact meaning of the stanza is uncertain ; but, it seems, the great Gūlā's daughter is invoked here to help the charm. For Gula-Anunit, vide supra, p. 55.

god and the storm-god dominated the Hittite pantheon : the former was looked upon at times as a mother-goddess (and has, therefore, to be equated with Sūryā or Ushas); the latter, named Teshub, is connected by scholars with Adad-Ramman, as he bears many of his attributes including the three-pronged thunderbolt. Some Indian scholars have suggested his identity with Keśava, probably merely on philological grounds;[1] but it is now rendered probable by our researches. The Egyptian records make mention of a Hittite god Reshpu (or Reschuf), who is also a Phœnician and Armenian deity;[2] we have already seen that he is identical with Ṛibhu of the Vedic pantheon. There is another Hittite deity of the sky and the lightning, by name Tarku, who was worshipped all over the south of Asia Minor; no doubt, he is Indian Tārkshya. "A deity of field-fruits is apparently *Khalkish*",[3] a name which has a striking philological similarity with Kalki, the tenth *avatāra* of Vishṇu. "In the Hittite religious services, according to the Hittite ritual texts, sometimes Khattish, sometimes Khurrish, sometimes Luish singers took part, sometimes also singers from the city *Kanesh*, *Kanish* in Asia Minor."[4] In the Vedas, we often find the Kāṇvas, mentioned as singers of those hymns; one does not know if they came from the last-named town. The Hittites, like the Vedic Aryans, sang their hymns in praise of "the Heavens, the Earth, mountains, rivers, wells, winds and clouds".[5] Not only the names of numerous deities, but also names of some persons betray their Indo-Aryan affinity. Apart from the names of princes known from inscriptions, one may confidently identify others (mentioned in the Bible). Esau, a son of Isaac and Rebekah and the twin brother of Jacob, is said to have married two Hittite women, of whom one is called Basemath or Bashemath, the daughter of Elon.[6] I believe, Basemath is a good Hebraic form of the Sanskritic name Vasumatī, and Elon may well represent a short form of Elāpatra (Pkt. Elāpata) or may be simply Aila. The name of a Hittite, whose wife David appropriated, is Uriah. May it be Sūryaḥ?

The destruction of the mighty Empire of the Hittites is attributed by many western historians to the volcanic eruption of the Phrygians. The Epic and Purāṇic tradition asserts *ad nauseam* that Paraśu-Rāma Bhārgava (probably a sun-divinity worshipped by the Phrygians) annihilated no less than twenty-one times the whole

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[1] Swamy Satynanda.

[2] ERE. VI. 725. i. Maspero, 355.

[3] E. B., XII. 606. ii.

[4] Ibid. 603. i.

[5] Ibid. p. 606. ii. Maspero, 354.

[6] Genesis, xxvi. 34.

Appendix A

ṚIG-VEDA X. 72. 3f.

" दे॒वानां॑ यु॒गे प्र॑थ॒मे ऽस॑त॒ः सद॑जायत ।
तदाशा॒ अन्व॑जायन्त॒ तदु॑त्ता॒नप॑द॒स्परि॑ ॥ ३ ॥
भूर्ज॑ज्ञ उत्ता॒नप॑दो भु॒व आशा॑ अजाय॑न्त ।
अदि॑ते॒र्दक्षो॑ अजायत॒ दक्षा॒द्वदि॑ति॒ः परि॑ ॥ ४ ॥
अदि॑ति॒र्ह्यज॑निष्ट॒ दक्ष॒ या दु॑हि॒ता तव॑ ।
तां दे॒वा अन्व॑जायन्त भ॒द्रा अ॒मृत॑बन्धवः ॥ ५ ॥
यद्दे॑वा अ॒दः स॑लि॒ले सुसं॑रब्धा॒ अति॑ष्ठत ।
अत्रा॑ वो॒ नृत्य॑तामिव ती॒व्रो रे॒णुरपा॑यत ॥ ६॥
यद्दे॑वा॒ यत॑यो यथा॒ भुव॑ना॒न्यपि॑न्वत ।
अत्रा॑ समु॒द्र आ गू॒ळ्ह———मा सूर्य॑मजभर्त॑न ॥ ७ ॥
अ॒ष्टौ पु॒त्रासो॒ अदि॑ते॒———र्ये॑जा॒तास्त॒न्व१॒॑स्परि॑ ।
दे॒वाँ उप॒ प्रैत् स॒प्तभि॒ः परा॑ मार्ता॒ण्डमा॑स्यत् ॥ ८ ॥
स॒प्तभि॑ः पु॒त्रैरदि॑ति॒———रुप॒ प्रैत् पू॒र्व्यं यु॒गम् ।
प्र॒जायै॑ मृ॒त्यवे॑ त्व॒त् पुन॑र्मार्ता॒ण्डमाभ॑रत् ॥ ९ ॥"

Compare Ṛig-Veda X. 129. 3f.

" तम॑ आसी॒त् तम॑सा गू॒ळ्हमग्रे॑ ऽप्रके॒तं स॑लि॒लं सर्व॑मा इ॒दम् ।
तु॒च्छ्येना॒भ्वपि॑हितं॒ यदासी॒त् तप॑स॒स्तन्म॑हि॒नाजा॑य॒तैक॑म् ॥
काम॒स्तदग्रे॒ सम॑वर्त॒ताधि॒ मन॑सो॒ रेत॑ः प्रथ॒मं यदासी॑त् ।
स॒तो बन्धु॒मस॑ति॒ निर॑विन्दन् हृ॒दि प्र॒तीष्या॑ क॒वयो॑ मनी॒षा ॥"

Compare the following passage from Philo Biblius :—

" At Tyre it was thought that Chaos existed at the beginning, but Chaos of a dark and troubled nature, over which a Breath (*rûakh*) floated without affecting it ; " and this Chaos had no ending, and it was thus for centuries and centuries.—Then the Breath became enamoured of its own principles, and brought about a change in itself, and this change was called Desire :—now Desire was the principle which created all things, and the Breath knew not its own creation.—The Breath and Chaos, therefore, became united, and Môt the Clay was born, and from this clay sprang all the seed of creation, and Môt was the father of all things; now Môt was like an egg in shape." (Philo of Byblos, Fragm. 2, § 1, quoted by Maspero, p. 168.)

Maspero refers us here to "the Egyptian theory, according to which the clay, heated by the sun, was supposed to have given birth to animated beings... ; this same clay modelled by Khnûmû into the form of an egg was supposed to have produced the heavens and the earth." (Maspero, 168; Dawn of Civilisation, p. 155-57; 128.)

APPENDIX B

HARIVAMŚA ON YOGAMĀYĀ

नारायणीं नमस्यामि देवीं त्रिभुवनेश्वरीम् ॥ १ ॥
त्वं हि सिद्धिर्धृतिः कीर्तिः श्रीर्विद्या सन्नतिर्मतिः ।
सन्ध्या रात्रिः प्रभा निद्रा कालरात्रिस्तथैव च ॥ २ ॥
आर्या कात्यायनी देवी कौशिकी ब्रह्मचारिणी ।
जननी सिद्धसेनस्य उग्रचारी महाबला ॥ ३ ॥
जया च विजया चैव पुष्टिस्तुष्टिः क्षमा दया ।
ज्येष्ठा यमस्य भगिनी नीलकौशेयवासिनी ॥ ४ ॥
बहुरूपा विरूपा च अनेकविधिचारिणी ।
विरूपाक्षी विशालाक्षी भक्तानां परिरक्षिणी ॥ ५ ॥
पर्वताग्रेषु घोरेषु नदीषु च गुहासु च ।
वासस्तव महादेवि वनेषूपवनेषु च ॥ ६ ॥
शबरैर्बर्बरैश्चैव पुलिन्दैश्च सुपूजिता ।
मयूरपिच्छध्वजिनी लोकान् क्रमसि सर्वशः ॥ ७ ॥
कुक्कुटैश्छागलैर्मेषैस्सिंहैर्व्याघ्रैस्समाकुला ।
घंटानिनादबहुला विन्ध्यवासिन्यभिश्रुता ॥ ८ ॥
त्रिशूलपट्टीशधरा सूर्यचन्द्रपताकिनी ।
नवमी कृष्णपक्षस्य शुक्लस्यैकादशी तथा ॥ ९ ॥
भगिनी बलदेवस्य रजनी कलहप्रिया ।
आवासः सर्वभूतानां निष्ठा च परमा गतिः ॥ १० ॥
नन्दगोपसुता चैव देवानां विजयावहा ।
चीरवासास्सुवासाश्च रौद्रसन्ध्याचरी निशा ॥ ११ ॥
प्रकीर्णकेशी मृत्युश्च सुरा मांसबलिप्रिया ।
लक्ष्मीरलक्ष्मीरूपेण दानवानां वधाय च ॥ १२ ॥
सावित्री चापि देवानां माता मन्त्रगणस्य च ।
कन्यानां ब्रह्मचर्यं त्वं सौभाग्यं प्रमदासु च ॥ १३ ॥

Sūrya-raśmi and Hari-keśa is said to observe, in the Ṛig-veda,[1] Viśvāchī and Ghṛitāchī, and not Puñjika-sthalā and Kratu-sthalā. The Agni Purāṇa mentions Viśvāchī along with Mahā-kālī, Iḍā, etc. as a Śakti.[2] Ghṛitāchī is very often associated with sacrificial Fire,[3] or otherwise seems to be connected with oblations and probably with ghṛita or ghee. She appears to be conceived as a consort of Agni-Rudra. In a passage in the Atharva-veda, Ghṛitāchī appears as an epithet of Rātri.[4]

Many of these remarks may not be very well intelligible to the reader, unless the passages referred to in this conection are read in the original, with full knowledge of the facts relating to the development of myths dealt with up till now. To my mind, at any rate, it appears crystal-clear that Yaksha, Gandharva,[5] etc. are only forms of the Father God (as identical with the sun or the sky), and that the nude Goddess is not only a terrible Rākshasī, but at times a beautiful Apsaras also. The later Purāṇic mythology weaves a good number of memorable tales about these Apsarases and fixes their number at twelve, which includes Menakā, Rambhā, Urvaśī Ghṛitāchī, Viśvāchī, Sahajanyā, Pramlochā, Puñjika-sthalī (or °sthalā),[6] etc. The Apsarases are said to retain their maidenhood eternally.

Corresponding to these Apsarases, we find in the Grecian mythology a class of divinities called *Nymphae* (properly 'the young maidens'),[7] who are subdivided into various classes, "according to different parts of nature of which they are the representatives".[8] Tradition represents Oceanides or the nymphs of the Ocean, as daughters of "old Oceanus,[9] the sire of gods and Tethys" (Iliad, XIV. 201), and this should, no doubt, be interpreted to mean that they were represented as daughters of the

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[1] RV. X. 139. 1-2 :—
'सूर्यरश्मिर्हरिकेशः पुरस्तात् सविता ज्योतिरुदयाँ अजस्रम् ।...
स विश्वाचीरभि चष्टे घृताचीरन्तरा पूर्वमपरं च केतुम् ।' Vide supra, p. 174-5.

[2] Agni P., 51. 8.

[3] RV. I. 2. 7 ; III. 27. 1 ; III. 30. 7 ; V. 28. 1 ; VII. 84. 1 ; etc.

[4] AV. XIX. 48. 6.

[5] This should not be interpreted to mean that I deny the fact *Yaksha* and *Gandharva* were names also of certain tribes. An inscription, published in the New Ind. Antiquary (September 1938) I. p. 374 vouchsafes the existence of some Yakshas of Gonarda :—' यकाणा कोणतिकाना ' (=यक्षाणां गोनर्दिकानाम्). Again, it is wellknown that the Rāmāyaṇa places Takshaśilā in Gandharva-deśa (Uttara-kāṇḍa, Ch. 101)

[6] Matsya P., 161. 74f.; Kūrma P., Pūrva-bhāga, 41. 14f.; Agni P., 219. 37f.

[7] D. C. A., p. 420.

[8] SCD. 351.

[9] Ibid.

Father God. Naiades or Niades correspond to our river-divinities Nadīs, though they are said to be "the nymphs of fresh water, whether of rivers, lakes, brooks, or springs" or nymphs presiding over them.[1] In Homer they appear as daughters of Zeus.[2] Dryades or Hamadryades (from Gk. *drus*), the nymphs of trees, correspond to Vedic Vanaspatis or Oshadhis (Skt. Dru = Tree),[3] i. e., the goddesses supposed to dwell in them.[4] Oreades, the nymphs of mountains and grottoes, are, according to Hesiod, the off-springs of the Earth.[5]

Here we may put forth a query. If Menakā is a mother goddess, may not Viśvāmitra be a father god? Indeed, Mr. J. N. Banerji has already made it probable that Śiva is depicted as Viśvāmitra on certain Audumbara coins as well as on a bronze seal unearthed at Sirkap.[6] Again, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, certain Dasyu tribes are referred to as belonging to (or protected by?) Visvāmitra,[7] and most of them are known to be devotees of the phallic cult.

I am inclined to identify (the Aila) Purūravas, son of Budha and Ilā and husband of Urvaśī, with Hermaphroditus, the son of Hermes snd Aphrodite, born on Mt. Ida. Gk. Hermes was called by the Romans Mercūrius (Mercury), who is, no doubt, Budha. Hermaphroditus excited the love of a fountain-nymph of Salmacis (near Halicarnassus), who thus corresponds to Urvaśī.[8]

Now, curiously enough Aeneas (Gk. Aineias) is represented in the Iliad as a son of Anchises and Aphrodite, born on Mt. Ida. "At first he took no part in the Trojan war; and it was not till Achilles attacked him on Mount Ida,...that he led the Dardanians against the Greeks. Henceforth Aeneas and Hector appear as the great bulwarks of the Trojans against the Greek".[1] Homer makes Aeneas and his descendants reign at Troy after the disappearance of Priam's house ; but in Virgil's *Æneid* and certain other later tales, he appears to have finally settled at Latium in Italy, where he became the ancestral hero of the Romans. He is said to have married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, after defeating Turnus who was to marry her.[2] Purūravas, the eminent founder of the race of Ailas, is said to have married Urvaśī after defeating Keśī, who coveted her. Aeneas is said to have been "worshipped as the god Jupiter Indiges",[3] which shows that he was regarded as identical with the Sky Father. Purūravas, the husband of an Apsaras, could, therefore, quite legitimately be a father god ; and he corresponds both to Hermaphroditus and to Aeneas (=Aila ?)

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[1] Ibid. In Roman mythology, there was a nymph called Egeria or Aegeria who is said to be associated with, or dwelt in, groves (SCD. 10). We learn of her that she was regarded as a "goddess of fountains, who was also a goddess of birth, and possessed the gift of prophecy", qualities, which, we have already seen, are intimately connected with the Mother Goddess Vāk-Irā-Sarasvatī and other female divinities of water (D. C. A., p. 207; supra, p. 130; 135; etc.). Agruvaḥ means 'rivers' according to Nirukta, II. 24. 4. Are the two words connected ?

[2] D. C. A., p. 420.

[3] Orig. Sem. *druvo*, 'wood'; Alb. *drū*, 'wood, tree'.

[4] In addition to what is already said, cf. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*. p. 278.

[5] D. C. A., p. 420.

[6] I. H. Q., XVI. no. 1, *Śiva and his emblems etc.*, p. 9, 12–13. (Reprint).

[7] A. B., VII. 18 :—
त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः ।

[8] SCD. 257 f.; D. C. A., 286.

Hermes (=Mercury) was looked upon as 'the inventor of letters, figures, mathematics, and astronomy' and was a god of wise discourse. Roman Mercury is identical with the Chaldæan or Assyro-Babylonian Nabu or Nebu, (Nebo of the Old Testament), the scribe of the gods, who presided over knowledge and intelligence, and to whom is ascribed the origin of writing. The tablets of Assurbanipal's library at Nineveh were said to contain "the wisdom of Nebo". Budha (='The Wise one'), signifying the same planet as Mercury or Nebu, was also a god of wisdom. Nebu's wife was known as Tashmit or Tashmetu. "Nana, too, frequently appears as the wife of Nabu, and so does Nisaba the goddess of corn". (ERE. II. 312,). Here we get the equation : Nana (the wife of Nebu) = Aphrodite (the wife of Hermes or Mercury) = Ilā (the wife of Budha). (On *Nebu* read NCM. p. 122 ; *Univ. Bible Dict.*, p. 330 ; *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 644 ; etc.).

Appendix D

THE RĀMĀYAṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

I am amazed to find some of my discoveries in connection with the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata already anticipated by certain scholars, to a remarkable degree. My attention was unfortunately attracted towards them after the whole thesis was complete. I quote only logically sound and relevant passages :—

1. K. C. Dutt in his *Civilisation in Ancient India*, says :— "The Rāmāyaṇa is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical

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[1] SCD. p. 12. [2] D. C. A., p. 10. [3] Ibid. p. 11.

events and incidents. The heroes are myths, pure and simple. Sītā, the field-furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Ṛig-Veda and had been worshipped as a goddess...In the Sūtra literature we learn that Sītā the furrow goddess is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rāma, hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of the Mahābhārata, only a new edition of the myth of Indra, of the Ṛig-Veda, battling with the demons of draught?''[1]

2. Jacobi expresses the same opinion in Das Rāmāyaṇa,[2] adding that the identification of Rāmāyaṇa war with Indra-Vṛitra conflict "is confirmed by the name of Rāvaṇa's son being Indrajit or Indra-śatru, the latter being actually an epithet of Vṛitra in the Ṛig-Veda.'' Again, in Hanūmat's figure "perhaps survive reminiscences of Indra's alliance with the Maruts in his fight with Vṛitra.''

3. Weber:—"She (=Sītā) accordingly represents Aryan husbandry which has to be protected by Rāma whom I regard as originally identical with Bala-rāma, 'hala-bhṛit' 'the plough-bearer,' though the two were afterwards separated.''[3]

4. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 87:—"It is possible that Karṇa himself ('son of the bull') represents the sun. He is called Vaikartana....His death at the hand of (Indra as) Arjuna might point to a sun and storm myth.''[4]

APPENDIX E

NṚI-SIṀHA

I have been fortunate enough to get a clue to the explanation of most of the *avatāras* (incarnations) of Vishṇu, but Nṛi-siṁha was eluding my sight, until, at almost the last moment, I have been able to place him. I propose to identify him with the Babylonian god of plague, Nergal, "the great Nera,'' who is recognized by all Assyriologists as a solar divinity.[5] Khammurabi's inscriptions refer to him as "the mighty among the gods, whose onslaught none can withstand'', as the "grave of the foe'', etc.; and as a god of the dead, he was supposed to be tutelary deity of Kutha (the site of modern Tell Ibrahim) which was the "centre of an enormous cemetery". He was a war-god, a god of chase and of the dark underworld, whom Allatu or Freshkigal, the goddess of the underworld, wished to kill, but to whom she was compelled to offer her person and half of her kingdom.[1] The reason for identification of this sun-god with Nṛi-siṁha ("Man-lion") lies in the fact that at Kutha, he was worshipped "under the symbol of "the man-lion"."[2]

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[1] Quoted in M. Krishnamachariar's *Hist. Clas. Sans. Lit.*, 1937, (Madras), p. 13.

[2] Quoted in the same place, p. 13–14.

[3] Quoted in the same place, p. 15. This view seems to be criticised in the usual orthodox fashion in Vedic Magazine, Sept. 1926, p. 425f.

[4] Hopkins' passage had somehow eluded my sight, and so must have many others. This thesis does *not* claim to have dealt in an exhaustive manner with any point relating to the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. It is just indicative.

[5] Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 646–47.

Appendix F

"ĀTMAN" AND MOKSHA

The intelligent reader must have been now well convinced that there is hardly anything of importance in the gamut of Hindu mythology or philosophy, which is not in reality borrowed from or rooted in the conceptions of the Egyptians or Babylonians. But what about the original, though absurd, idea about Jīva (or Prāṇa) residing in the body as distinguished from Ātman and subjected to the vicissitudes of pleasure and pain (sukha and duḥkha) while Ātman escapes these misfortunes and eschews these blessings? Jīva or Prāṇa seems to correspond to the "double of the dead," who kneeling before the justice-dealing Mā or Maāt in the Hall of Truth, professes his innocence. We learn in this connection the following :—

"Should the evil deeds of the departed one outweigh his good deeds, he is sentenced to be devoured by the "beast of Amenti" or is allowed to be born again, as a pig. While the double of the liberated one stays in the tomb, the soul ascends to heaven in the shape of a bird with a human head, to be one with the gods, thus exclaiming :—

"I am the god Atum, I who was alone,
I am:the god Ra at his first appearing,
I am the great god who created himself, and created his name
'*:Lord of the gods, who has no equal.*'
......My impurities are driven out, and the sin that was in me is conquered;...."[3]

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[1] NCM. 123.

[2] Buckland, *Universal Bible Dictionary*, p. 333. A. H. Sayce in his *Hibbert Lectures : 1887* (published in 1909), says :— "Nergal was but the sun of the night, the solar deity, that is to say, after he has accomplished his daily work in the brighter world above and had descended to illuminate for a time the world below."

[3] The Origin of the Cross, p. 8–9. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 138 says that the sun existing before the world was called Creator—Tûmû or Atûmû; elsewhere (p. 139) he says that Atûmû was the sun of autumn and of afternoon. (Also ibid. p. 163.) He is at times supposed to be a nightly sun-god.

Who can doubt that this "soul" of the dead person, that identifies itself with Atum, almost exactly corresponds to Ātmā, that is supposed to be identical with Param-ātmā, the Creator of the world, whom no impurities can touch? Even the idea of Moksha or absorption of Jīvātmā, the individual soul, into Param-ātmā, Parameśvara, or Śiva, is also clearly traceable in Egypt in very early times. On the coffin of Men-Kau-Ra, the builder of the third pyramid of Gizeh, (which was built according to Brugsch in c. 3600 B.C.), there is a prayer offered to Osiris, which is said to mark "a new religious development in the annals of Egypt. The absorption of the justified soul in Osiris, the cardinal doctrine of the Ritual of the Dead, makes its appearance here for the first time."[1] No doubt, "this identification with Osiris is looked upon as the reward of all the happy and faithful dead."[2] Osiris, Lord of the dead and the underworld, is, in fact, always represented in the form of a Mummy.

APPENDIX G

AHALYĀ-JĀRAḤ

Now I find to my surprise that the story of the rape of Ahalyā occurs *mutatis mutandis* in connection with Alcmene or Alcmena, daughter of Electryon, king of Mycenae. She was "promised to marry Amphitryon, if he avenged the death of her brothers, who had been slain by the sons of Pterelaus. Amphitryon undertook the task; but during his absence, Zeus, in the disguise of Amphitryon, visited Alcmene, and pretending to be her husband, related in what way he had avenged the death of her brother. Amphitryon himself returned the next day."[3] "In Bœotia, Pausanias tells us, people believed Alkemene, the mother of Herakles, was changed into a stone."[4] The Rāmāyaṇa and other texts make poor Ahalyā a victim both to the lust of Indra and to the wrath of her husband Gautama (in whose absence Indra approached her assuming his form); and she turns into a stone-slab (śilā) at the curse of her irrational husband.

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[1] The Origin of the Cross, p. 10.

[2] Allen, p. 112–113. I now find that the equation Atumu = Ātman is already suggested by Chandra Chakrawarti, in his *Ancient Races and Myths*, p. 88. In the same book I find to my utter surprise and grief a good many equations (suggested in this thesis) though given without any argument! Lastly, I also find that the author of '*The Origin of the Cross*' (Swami Satyanand) is the same as the author of *Ancient Races and Myths* !!! Personally, I regard this last idetification, Swami Satyanand = Chandra Chakrawarti as my *most* wonderful discovery.

[3] SCD. p. 29. DCA. 29–30; 280.

[4] Allen, p. 75.

Appendix H

THE KAURAVAS, ETC.

The identification of the gods (Devas) with serpents (Sarpas)[1] coupled with the enmity of serpents with eagles has given birth in India to the myth relating to Kurus and Pāṇḍus, and in Iran to the conception of Daêvas being evil spirits. Arjuna's setting fire to Khāṇḍava the habitat of the Nāgas, Parikshit's murder by a Nāga, Janamejaya's sarpa-yajña,[2] etc. vouchsafe that the war between the Kurus and the partisans of Garuḍa-dhvaja may be nothing more than the mythical fight between the sons of Kadrū and those of Vinatā. We have seen that Kadrū is the same as the serpent-goddess Gāndhārī,[3] whose sons, the evil Kurus, must therefore be serpents. It is then no matter for wonder that among the names of serpents, we find the mention of Kauravya[4] or Kauravya-Dhṛitarāshṭra.[5] Again, the ultimate defeat of the Kauravas inspite of their vast numerical superiority over the Pāṇḍavas, only recalls the domination of Vainateya over vast number of serpents;[6] and the state of servitude in which the Pāṇḍavas had fallen before their victory is perhaps paralleled by Vinatā's servitude towards Kadrū. Many Nāgas are actually said to dwell in Kuru-kshetra the habitat of the Kurus.[7]

Says an authority:—

" In Cretan religion the male divinity is sometimes a child, the necessary attribute of motherhood, sometimes a young man, and sometimes a sky-power fertilizing Mother Earth; but always the Mother is dominant. A goddess with a young subordinate god is known in early times on every coast of the Mediterranean which looked towards Crete. In Punic Africa, she is Tanit with her son ; in Egypt, Isis, with Hathor ; in Phoenicia, Ashtaroth with Tammuz (Adonis) ; in Asia Minor, Cybele with Attis; in Greece (and especially Greek Crete itself), Rhea with the young Zeust Elsewhere she is παρθένος, i. e. unwed, but made the mother firs, of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son.''[1]

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[1] Supra, p. 41, 44, 99, etc.

[2] Mbh. I. 20. 8 (Bombay ed.) :—

सर्पसत्रे वर्तमाने पावकः वः प्रधक्ष्यति ।
जनमेजयस्य राजर्षेः पाण्डवेयस्य धीमतः ॥

[3] Supra, p. 41.

[4] Mbh. I. 123. 6 f. (Bombay ed.).

[5] Mbh. I. 35 (Bombay ed.).

[6] 'ते भार्ये कश्यपस्यास्तां कद्रूश्च विनता च ह ।
...वव्रे कद्रूः सुतान्नागान्सहस्रं तुल्यवर्चसः ॥
द्वौ पुत्रौ विनता वव्रे कद्रूपुत्राधिकौ बले ।'—Mbh. I. 16. 5 f. (Bombay ed.)

[7] 'बहूनि नागवेश्मानि गङ्गायास्तीर उत्तरे ।
...अहं ऐरावतज्येष्ठं भ्रातृभ्योऽकरवं नमः ।
यस्य वासः कुरुक्षेत्रे खाण्डवे चाभवत्पुरा ॥
...तक्षकश्चाश्वसेनश्च नित्यं सहचरावुभौ ।
कुरुक्षेत्रं च वसतां... ॥'—Mbh. I. 3. 135 f. (Bombay ed.)

This quotation offers an explanation not only with reference to the relation between Kumāra and Kumārī, but also with regard to the term Pṛithā, which is an epithet of Kunti, the virgin mother of Karṇa.

Appendix I

THE SUN-GOD KILLING A CELESTIAL BULL

It is a curious fact that the sun-gods are often represented as killing or overpowering bulls. Thus, for instance, Mithra, the Persian god of light or the lighted firmament, identified with the sun, conquering all demons of darkness, is not only associated with the bull, but also appears as mastering or carrying this animal.[2] '' He is represented as a young man in oriental dress and as an invincible hero, stabbing a bull with his dagger or standing on a bull he has thrown down.''[3] Fine specimens, representing him in this fashion still exist in the Louvre (Paris). In India, this myth seems to have passed to the dark form of the sun-god, Kṛishṇa, who is described in the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa as overpowering the Daitya named Arishṭa, who had assumed the form of a mighty bull. Kṛishṇa is said to have caught this haughty animal by the horns and set his foot on its neck and over-powered it.[4] We have seen that at least one of the exploits of Kṛishṇa (viz. that of over-powering Kāliya-nāga) corresponds to one of the exploits of Heracles (viz. his victory over the Lernean hydra). It is, therefore, not beyond

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1. ERE. I. 147, col. i. 2. NCM. p. 119.
3. D. C. A., p. 397. Plunket, *Anc. Calendars and Constellations*, p. 61-64.
4. Harivaṁśa, II. 21. 7f. :—

'अरिष्टो नाम हि गवामरिष्टो दारुणाकृतिः ।
दैत्यो वृषभरूपेण गोष्ठान्विपरिधावति ॥ ७ ॥
पातयानो गवां गर्भान् दृप्तो गच्छत्यनार्तवम् ।...
तमापतन्तं प्रमुखे प्रतिजग्राह दुर्धरम् ।
कृष्णः कृष्णाञ्जननिभो वृषं प्रतिवृषोपमः ॥ १७ ॥...
तस्य दर्पं...हत्वा कृत्वा शृङ्गान्तरे पदम् ।
आपीडयदरिष्टस्य कण्ठं क्लिन्नमिवाम्बरम् ॥ २० ॥
...स चोपेन्द्रो वृषं हत्वा कान्तचन्द्रे निशामुखे ।
अरविन्दाभनयनः पुनरेव रराम ह ॥

the bounds of possibility that this bull episode might be in some way related to the capture of the mad bull which Poseidon sent to ravage the island of Crete in order to punish Minos. Heracles caught and over-powered the bull and brought it to Mycenæ.[1]

The twelve exploits of Heracles remind us of the twelve exploits of Gilgamesh. "The identity of Gilgames with the Accadian fire-god, or rather with the sun-god, was recognized from the first by H. Rawlinson ... and has been accepted since by all Assyriologists."[2] Like Lord Śrī-Kṛishṇa and Herakles, Gilgamesh was represented as an ordinary mortal; still, as Prof. Maspero puts it: "he was, as it were, a sun on a smaller scale, before whom the kings, princes, and great ones of the earth humbly bowed their heads. The scribes had, therefore, some authority for treating the event of his life after the mode of the year, and for expressing them in twelve chants, which answered to the annual course of the sun through the twelve months."[3] At the persistent request of Ishtar, whose love Gilgamesh had spurned, Anu created a "frightful urus, whose ravages soon rendered uninhabitable the neighbourhood of Uruk the well-protected".[4] The beast charged against Gilgamesh and his companion, Ebani the hairy (who no doubt corresponds to Sita-keśa, Keśava or Keśī = Bala-Rāma); but Gilgamesh was lucky enough to seize him by the leg, and overpowering him, he "plunged his dagger into his heart".[5] Ishtar only bewailed her lot with the words: "Cursed be Gilgames, who has insulted me, and who has killed the celestial urus".

Like Kṛishṇa, Gilgamesh had captured the hearts of all his contemporaries: "he is no longer a rival in their hearts", but rather their adorable leader and lovable companion; "and Gilgames does not send one child back to his father." Night and day they cry after him: 'It is he the shepherd of Uruk, the well-protected, he is its shepherd and master, he, the powerful, the perfect and the wise.' Even women did not escape the general enthusiasm: 'he leaves not a single virgin to her mother, a single daughter to a warrior, a single wife to her master'.[6] Such were the complaints made to Ishtar by the inhabitants of the town, and even such were those made by the inhabitants of Mathurā to Yaśodā against Kṛishṇa, the cow-herd (Gopāla), who had charmed all the young gopas, and bewitched the gopīs by his beauty.

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[1] SCD. 254; D. C. A., p. 281.

[2] *Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 575, footnote.

[3] Ibid. p. 574–575.

[4] Ibid. p. 581.

[5] Ibid. 582.

[6] Ibid. p. 575–576.

APPENDIX J
THE SACRED APIS

"The sacred bull, called Apis, was venerated throughout Egypt, but was especially honoured in Noph, or Memphis, the capital of the country at the time of Exodus. Lands were set apart for its support, numbers of men and women were engaged for its maintenance and feeding ; ... If a person killed any sacred animal accidentally, his punishment was referred to the priests, but if he did so by design he was sentenced to instant death, and the enraged multitude seldom waited for the formalities of trial. On this account, if any one found by chance one of these sacred animals dead, he stood at a convenient distance from it, and with great lamentations protested that he was innocent of the death. What may appear still more incredible, we are assured by ancient historians, that during a severe famine, which drove the inhabitants to the fearful necessity of devouring one another, there was no person accused of having tasted one of the sacred animals. When any one of these sacred animals died they lamented it as if it had been one of their dearest children, and frequently expended large sums on his funeral. We are told, that in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the bull Apis, dying of old age at Memphis, his keeper expended more than fifty talents of silver, or thirteen thousand pounds, on his costly interment. From their long and intimate association with the people of Memphis the Israelites had been infected by this gross superstition, and therefore they selected Apis as a model for their idol, and readily resigned their "jewels of gold", as material for its construction."[1]

APPENDIX K
THE HORSE

In Chapter XV (p. 181–2), we learnt that the *liṅga* of a dead Apis-bull was introduced in the organ of the Egyptian queen as a mark of honour to her. In India, a like honour was shown to the royal consort[2] of the king, who performed Rājasūya sacrifice indicative of his sovereign sway. But in this case, the animal was not a bull, but a horse, that can also be held as a symbol of the procreative energy and hence be identified with Agni-Rudra.[1] A horse, as a lover of the Mother Goddess, is not unknown either in India or abroad. We find Gilgamesh accusing Ishtar in the following words :

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[1] W. C. Taylor, Student's Manual of Anc. Hist., p. 96-98.

[2] I. C., IV. 162 f., quotes the following extracts from Mahīdhara on this Rājasūya rite :—'महिषी स्वयमेवाश्वशिश्नमाकृष्य स्वयोनौ स्थापयति...वाजी अश्वो रेतो दधातु मयि वीर्यं स्थापयतु।'

'अश्वं यजमानोऽभिमंत्रयते।...... अश्वदेवत्या गायत्री। हे वृषन्सेक्तः, अश्व, महिष्या गुदोपरि रेतो...वीर्यं धारय।... उत् ऊर्ध्वे सक्थिनी ऊरू यस्याः... अञ्जि लिङ्गं सञ्चारय... लिङ्गं योनौ प्रवेशय...यस्मिँ ल्लिङ्गे योनौ प्रविष्टे स्त्रियो जीवन्ति भोगांश्च लभन्ते तं प्रवेशय।'

> "Thou didst love the horse that joyed in the fray,
> With whip and spur and lash thou didst urge him on."[2]

No doubt, the horse mentioned here is identical with the Sun-god, whose association with four horses is apparent both in the Grecian mythology and the Indian sculpture, etc. Nay, one Indian myth asserts that the Sun-god actually assumed the form of a horse.[3] This was on an occasion when his wife Saṁjñā had run away to Uttara-Kurus assuming the form of a mare in order to escape the notice of the Sun-god.[4] This tale suggests not a few parallels ; for if in the Indian myth, the Asvins are said to be born of this couple (the Sun-horse and the Earth-mare), the Grecian account represents the Dioscuri as sons of Zeus (whom we have already identified with a sun-god).[5] Furthermore, Demeter is said to have "assumed the form of a mare to escape the addresses of Poseidon, and ... offended at his importunity, she withdrew in dudgeon to a cave not far from Phigalia in the highlands of Western Arcadia".[6] Here "the Black Demeter was portrayed with the head and mane of a horse on the body of woman".[7] We have already spoken of the horse-headed mother of Paraśu-Rāma, named Reṇukā, who was, no doubt, a mother-goddess.

On the whole, it seems quite possible that in the Rājasūya sacrifice we get a sort of ritual drama and that the whole ceremony

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1. "अग्निर्वा अश्वः श्वेतः।"—Ś. B., III. vi. 2. 5 ; XIII. iii. 8. 8.
2. *The Scape-goat*, p. 371.
3. Harivaṁśa P.. I. ix. 53.
4. Harivaṁśa P., I. ix. 1 f. :—

   "विवस्वान्कश्यपाज्जज्ञे दाक्षायण्यामरिन्दम ।
   तस्य भार्याऽभवत्संज्ञा त्वाष्ट्री देवी विवस्वतः ॥ १ ॥...
   अगच्छद्वडवा भूत्वाऽऽच्छाद्य रूपमनिन्दिता ।
   कुरूनथोत्तरान्गत्वा तृणान्येव चचार ह ॥ १७ ॥...
   सोऽश्वरूपेण भगवांस्तां मुखे समभावयत् ॥ ५३ ॥...
   देवौ तस्यामजायेतामश्विनौ भिषजां वरौ।"

   Mbh. I. 661. 36 (as quoted in the Jāti-bhāskara, p. 318) :—

   'त्वाष्ट्री तु सवितुर्भार्या वडवारूपधारिणी ।
   असूयत महाभागा सान्तरिक्षेऽश्विनावुभौ ॥'
5. SCD. p. 194 ; D. C. A., p. 194.
6. *Spirits of the Corn*, etc., II. 21 ; Pausanias, viii. 25 & 42.
7. Ibid.

represents nothing more than a type of sacred marriage in which the Queen probably stood for the Goddess herself, being wedded to the Sun-horse, the master of all quarters.

A word more about the horse, which is unfortunately commonly supposed to have been a native of the steppes of Central Asia. Isaac Taylor has already dealt at a great length with this supposition, refuting it by showing that the animal was quite common over the plains of Europe and was the staple food of the Palæolithic cave-dwellers of Solutré, Auvernier, Salève, Thäyngen, etc.[1] Again we have spoken of the Arabian horse that was well-known to the Vedic Aryan. I should also draw attention of the readers to the following passage :— "The fragmentary skeletal remains of a horse found so far [at Mohenjo-daro] may be of stray animal that was brought by traders of Mohenjo-daro from some other place, say Anau, where the horse was in use in antiquity and which shows signs of probable cultural affinity with the people of the Indus basin. In fact, Col. R. B. S. Sewell has pointed out the close similarity between the Mohenjo-daro specimen and the breed of horses found in ancient Anau." [2]

APPENDIX L

BRĀHMAṆA = FLĀMEN

In connection with this equation suggested above (p. 119), it seems necessary to quote certain observations of Dr. Oskar Seyffert to allow the reader to form his own judgment as to the origin of the Indian priests, many of whom are still persisting in retaining their baneful hold on the society and rigidly observing the insane customs and usages, which they have carried with themselves from the West some thousands of years ago, and introduced into India. Such people are, however, very reluctant to follow the westerners of to-day in their modern scientific thought. Remember here Hotṛi and other 15 priests (3 principal, 12 subordinate, plus one Brahmā) required in certain sacrifices, and the inhibitions etc. followed by the Brāhmaṇas.

"**Flāmen** (from *flāre* ; one who blows or kindles the sacrificial fire). The special priests of a special deity among the Romans. There were 15 *Flamines* ; three higher ones (Flamines maiores) of patrician rank : these were the *flamen Dialis* (of Jupiter), [etc.]...The remaining 12 were *flamines minores*, plebeians....Their office was

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1. I. Taylor, p. 130, 152, 158-161.
2. Proc. & Trs., 9th All-India Ori. Conf. (Trivendrum), p. 145.

for life....They were exempted from all duties of civic life, and excluded at the same time from all participation in politics. In course of time, it is true, they were allowed to hold urban offices.... Indeed, the *Flamen Dialis*, whose superior position among the flamens conferred upon him certain privileges,...was in proportion obliged to submit to more restrictions than the rest....He must be born of a marriage....If his wife died, he resigned his office....[1] Every day was a holy day for him....He was preceded by his lictor, and by heralds, who called on the people to stop their work, as the flamen was not permitted to look upon any labour. He was not allowed to cast eyes on an armed host, to mount, or even to touch, a horse, to touch a corpse, or grave, or a goat, or a dog, or raw meat, or anything unclean....The chief business of the flamens consisted in daily sacrifices...."[2]

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[1] A Brāhmaṇa's wife is his *saha-dharma-chāriṇī*, and is often required to help him in sacrifices and pūjās.

[2] D. C. A., p. 237–238.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Unless stated otherwise, the names of authors indicate the books given before their names in this list.)

A. B.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
ABI.	The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Bhandarkar Institute).
Allan	John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (London, 1936).
Allen	Grant Allen, *The Evolution of the Idea of God* (1931).
Anc.	Ancient.
Annett	E. A. Annett, *Palestine : the Chosen Land* (1927).
ASI, or A. S. I.	Archæological Survey of India.
AV.	Atharva-veda (Svādhyāya-maṇḍala ed., Aundha, V. S. 1995).
B.	Brāhmaṇa.
Beeton	Beeton's *Shilling Bible Dictionary* (London).
Breasted	J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times :* A History of the Early World (Boston).
Buxton	L. H. D. Buxton, *The People of Asia* (1925).
Camb. A. H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
Camb. H. I.	Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. (ed. by E. J. Rapson).
Childe	V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (London, 1926).
Cun.	General Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*.
Cun's AGI.	Gen. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (S. N. Majumdar's ed., 1924).
Das	Abinas Chandra Das, *Ṛig-vedic India* (Cal., 1927).
D. C. A.	Dr. Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (Trs., H. Nettleship and J. Sandys, London, 1894)
Delaporte	L. Delaporte, *Mesopotamia: Babylonian and Assyrian Civilisation* (London, 1925).
Dey	Nundolal Dey, *Rasātala the Underworld* (Cal.1924).
Dikshit	S. B. Dikshit, *Bhārata Jyotisha Śāstrāchā Itihāsa* (in Marāṭhī ; Poona, 1931).
Durgaprasad	Durga Prasad, *Classification and significance of the symbols on the silver punchmarked coins of Ancient India*, in Numismatic Supplement, JASB. 1934. 5f.
E. B.	Encyclopædia Britannica (14th ed., Vol. I to XXIV).
EHI.	Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed., 1924).

E. H. Ic.	T. Gopinath Rao, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. Pt. ii. (1914).
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica.
ERE.	James Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Vol. I. to XII. Edinburgh, 1908).
Evans	Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (Vol. I to V).
Garstang	John Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (1929).
Glotz	Gustave Glotz, *The Aegean Civilisation*.
G. S.	Gṛihya-sūtras. (Pāraskara, Baudhāyana, etc.).
Hist.	History ; Historical : etc.
Hopkins	E. W. Hopkins, *The Epic Mythology* (1915).
I. A.	Indian Antiquary.
I. C.	Indian Culture.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind.	India ; Indian ; etc.
J.	Journal (as in J. U. P. Hist. Soc.; J. Gujarat Res. Soc.; etc.).
Jaim.	Jaiminīya.
JASB. (J.A.S.B.)	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBORS. (J.B.O.R.S.)	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JDL.	Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University).
J. E.	Jewish Encyclopædia (Vol. I to VI).
JRAS. (J.R.A.S.)	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of the Great Britain and Ireland.
K. B.	Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa.
Langdon	S. H. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, in Myth. A. R. (Vol. V).
Larned	J. N. Larned, *History for Ready References*. (I–V)
Mackenzie	Donald A. Mackenzie, *The Migration of Symbols* (1926).
Mait. Saṁ.	*Maitrāyani Saṁhitā*.
Maspero	Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations : Egypt, Syria and Assyria* (Trs., M. L. McClure, 2nd. ed., 1910).
Mbh.	Mahābhārata (except Sabhā-parva ; P. C. Roy's ed.).
Mem.	Memoir.
M. I.	Man in India.
Moulton	J. H. Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (1911).
M. R.	Modern Review.
Myth. A. R.	L. H. Gray, *Mythology of All Races* (Vol. I to XII).

NCM.	Marian Edwards and L. Spence, *A Dictionary of Non-Classical Mythology* (1929).
Num. Chron., or Suppl.	Numismatic Chronicle, or Supplement.
Ori.	Oriental.
Orion.	B. G. Tilak, *The Orion.*
P.	Purāṇa. (Agni, Matsya, and Kūrma of Calcutta ed. of Pañchānana Tarkaratna; Vāyu, Padma, Harivaṁśa and Bhāgavata of Bombay or Poona ed.).
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PHAI.	Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th ed. Calcutta, 1938).
Ragozin	Zenaide A. Ragozin, *Chaldea* (London, 1887).
Rawlinson	H. G. Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World. (Cambridge, 1926).
RV.	Ṛig-veda (Svādhyāya-maṇḍala ed., Aundha, 1940).
Ś. B.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SCD.	E. H. Blakeney, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary*. (Everyman's Library. 495; London, 1937).
SRB.	K. P. Parab, *Subhāshita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1905).
S. V.	Sāma-veda (Svādhyāya-maṇḍala, Aundha, V. S., 1996).
Soc.	Society.
Taylor, E. B.,	Sir E. B. Taylor, *Anthropology*, Vols. I and II. (Thinker's Library, London, 1930).
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T. B.	Taittirīyā Brāhmaṇa.
Theobald	Theobald, "*Notes on some symbols on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan and their relationship to archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands*", JASB. 1890. 181f.
T. S.	Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
Univ. Bible Dict.	A. R. Buckland, *The Universal Bible Dictionary*, (London).
Up.	Upanishad.
Ur, etc.	Leonard Wooley, *Ur of the Chaldees* (Pelican).
V. I.	A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (Vol. I and II. 1907).
V. M.	A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*.
Vogel	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore* (1926).
Wallis-Budge	E. A. Wallis-Budge, *Babylonian History and Life*.
YV.	Yajurveda (Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, Mādhyandina recension, Svādhyāya-maṇḍala Aundha, V. S 1984).

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ADDENDA

P. 9, fn. 3 :—Herodotus states that the inhabitants of Ephesus (in Asia Minor) had dedicated their city to Artemis.

P. 10, l. 18–9 :—*Yü-kung* is probably the same as Yih-king, a cosmological treatise and a compendium on morals, assigned to 1143 B. C. *Shu-king* contains proverbs and precepts, supposed to go beyond the 2nd millemium B. C. *Shi-king* is a collection of about 300 ancient hymns.

P. 22 :—Herodotus regards Palestine as a ‘part of Syria’, and calls Ascalon (or Askelon),—mentioned in the Bible (Judges, i. 18; xiv. 19) as a Philistian town,—a Syrian city. Ascalon, generally referred to as a coastal town, "was not actually on the sea." (Maspero, p. 131). Here was a temple of Urania Aphrodite, which was, according to Herodotus, the most ancient of all the temples to that goddess. (See supra, p. 31).

P. 26 :—Mr. Nicholls shows in his work, *Through Hidden Shensi*, that there are some enormous pyramidal structures of unknown origin, in that province. Pointing out that the Chinese place the origin of their civilization in the same locality, Dr. W. J. Perry asks whether this occurrence of the pyramidal structure is due to direct Egyptian influence. (Perry, p. 125).

P. 32 :—Gaṅgā is *ashṭa-putrā* like Aditi, and Bhīshma-Gāṅgeya is her Kumāra. Yamunā-Sūryatanayā is Yamī, the daughter of the sun.

P. 38, l. 11 :—Herodotus refers, in his account of a dream of Croesus, to the Lydian belief that the snake is a child of the earth. (See supra, p. 41, fn. 5).

P. 39, l. 7 :—Eleusis, an ancient town in Attica, was 12 miles N. W. of Athens. Here in the temple of Demeter, rites (known as Eleusinia) emblematic of the death of Nature in autumn, and its rebirth in spring, were performed. The town, destroyed by the Goths, is represented by the modern village of Levsina.

P. 45, fn. 5 :—Isis had often, especially at Buto, "neither lover nor husband; but had spontaneously conceived and given birth to a son, whom she suckled among the reeds." (*Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 131).

P. 49 :—"As Dianus [cf. Dineśa] or the god of light, represented the sun, so Diana, the goddess of light, represented the moon."—SCD. 188

P. 55 :—The town of Ai, captured by Joshua (vide Joshua, viii. 18-27 ; cf. Hai, mentioned in Genesis, 13. 3) might have been named after a local divinity of the same name. I am also inclined to connect the word Māī occurring in many vernaculars with a name of the Roman goddess Flora (goddess of flowers, prosperity and increase) viz. Maia, from which is derived the name of the month of May, when the great carnival Floralia used to take place. She was a wife of Jupiter and the mother of Mercurius. Cf. also the word *Māyā*.

P. 56, l. 27 :—I have little doubt that Hippolyte, a queen of Amazons, said to have been conquered by Theseus, corresponds to Pramilā, the famous queen of the Strī-rājya, who was vanquished by Arjuna according to the Purāṇas. Hippolyte, with her girdle, appears to me to be identical with Aphrodite with hers. Both Pramilā and H. marry their conquerors.

P. 62 :—In a Ṛig-vedic stanza, Indra is said to have killed Namuchi (probably an epithet of Ahi-Vṛitra) in (the valley of) Parāvat.

(ṚV. I. 53. 7 :—नम्या यदिन्द्र सख्या परावति निबर्हयो नमुचिं नाम मायिनम्।) And we learn that "the common myth of the dragon fight—Indra and Ahi in the Veda and Atar and Azi in the Avesta—seems at home in Mesopotamia." (Childe, p. 33). The word Paradise is, (I know) generally derived from the Old Persian word for 'garden', viz. 'Paridaiza', or 'Pairidaêza', whence Greek 'Paradeisos'. Herodotus refers to the Euphrates as "a broad, deep, swift stream, which rises in Armenia, and empties itself into the Ærythrean sea."

P. 84, fn. 2 :—A. B. III. 33 :—'य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव स (रुद्रः)।

P. 92, fn. 5 :—Kaśyapa may be identified with Amman Kasipar, the 'protector of (the land of) Kassi', the Kassi, the Gk. Kaspioi, or the Old Median Kaspiya, (the people of northern Iran), whose name survives in 'Caspian'. I have little doubt that Kāśyapī, the name of the Earth according to the Aryans (whose name betrays their association with Iran), is connected with these words and may have originally signified nothing more than the land of the Aryans.

P. 95, l. 15 :—Pataṅga means a moth in Hindustani. The Egyptian Ra was represented as a grass-hopper under the Old Empire (*The Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 103).

P. 96, l. 3 :—Yasna I. 11 makes the sun an eye of Ahura Mazdah.

P. 97, l. 9 ;—The word for 'eye' and 'asp' was, indeed, used for some chief goddesses like Tefênet, Sekhmet, etc. (Myth A, R, XII. 28-9).

P. 97, fn. 5 :—Also cf. RV. I. 89. 10 :—'अदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।'

P. 98, l. 7 :—The Gk. Heliopolis or Syrian Baalbec (both meaning 'the city of the sun', or Sūrya-pura), about 35 miles N. W. of Damascus, stood near the head of Leontes (modern Liettany) and had a beautiful temple of the sun-god, reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world, and supposed to have been built by the genii, coerced by the Seal of the mighty son of David.

P. 102, l. 2 :—"The Egyptian word for "an eye" being feminine, the disk of the sun could also be regarded as feminine." (Myth. A. R., XII. 29).

P. 108f. :—The Ābān Yasht § 29 states that Azi Dahaka worshipped Ārdvī Sūra Anāhita in the country of Bawri, i. e. Babylon, which then may be the country whence the Persians derived their worship of Anāhita.

P. 111, fn. 1 :—The classical name of Friday was *Dies Veneris*, 'the day of Venus'.

P. 116, fn. 3 :—Abhrayantī, cf. RV. V. 84. 3 :—' यत्ते अभ्रस्य विद्युतो दिवो वर्षन्ति वृष्टयः ।'

P. 124, l. 19 :—For the fickleness of Lakshmī, see Mudrā-Rākshasa, VI. 6 ; Kādambarī, p. 198–208; etc.

P. 125, fn. 6 :—A Phrygian legend recorded by Pausanias (7. 17) speaks of a hermaphrodite monster Agdistis, whose male organ was afterwards removed by gods, thus making it a female. (ERE. II. 217). This change of sex is already noticed by us in the case of Ilā-Aditi. whom we here identify with Revatī.

P. 130, fn. 7 :—T. B., III. ii. 8. 2; RV. X. 30. 6, 8, 12, 15, etc.; X. 19. 1 ; X. 64. 9.

P. 131, l. 5 :—Herodotus vouchsafes their "great reverence for the rivers", and says that they never defile them with the secretions of their bodies or allow others to do so.

P. 131, fn. 1 :—AV. XIV. 2. 45.

P. 134, fn. 3 :—Ea's 'domain was the Apsu, "the abode of knowledge", and the waters which uphold and entice the earth'.—Delaporte, 138.

P. 136, fn. 2 :—Compare with this the fact that Rā says "that he is called "Khopri in the morning, Rā at noon, Tûmû in the evening"." (*Dawn of Civilisation*, 136.)

P. 139, fn. 4 :—According to Plutarch, the figure of Osiris was sometimes represented with a similarly exaggerated size of his phallus, which was thrice as big as his body. (*The Origin of the Cross*, 12).

P. 141, fn. 2 :—Caribs,—an aboriginal race of the Lesser Antilles or Caribbean Isles in the Caribbean Sea, E. of Central America.

P. 144, l. 30 :—Herodotus, for instance, refers to their embarking on "long voyages, freighting their vessels with wares of Egypt and Assyria", and laying their hands upon Greek ladies, amongst them on Io, a daughter of Inachus, king of Argos.

P. 157. fn. 4 :—Avestan Indra is also associated with Aṅgro Mainyus.

P. 164, fn. 2 :—Durgā is addressed in the Mbh. IV. 6. 23, as :— त्वं कीर्त्तिः श्रीर्धृतिः सिद्धिः ह्रीर्विद्या सन्ततिर्मतिः।' which equates her with both Śrī and Mati (the Genius or Faculty of thinking). Now, Metis (= 'Counsel') appears not only as the first wife of Zeus (D. C. A., 80), but also as a daughter of Oceanus (D. C. A., 391 ; SCD. 331). The equation, Śrī-Mati = Hērē-Metis, appears to me exceedingly probable.

P. 168 :—Herodotus records that Cambyses was the first among the Persians to marry his full sister.

P. 170 :—Indeed, the reason for suggesting this rather peculiar interpretation for the words Dādā, etc., was that the word 'Dādalā' means 'a husband' in Marathi.

P. 171, l. 30 :—We have already seen that Indra is a son of Revatī, who is also Rātri. (Supra, p. 128 ; 140–1).

P. 172–3 :—Remember here that Kṛishṇa is said to have been born at the very dead of the night.

P. 177, l. 35 :—"The most important statue of him (Attis) is the Lateran Attis, discovered at Ostia (an ancient port of Central Italy, standing on the southern arm of the Tiber), representing him as the shepherd-lover of the Mother." (ERE. II. 218. i).

P. 180, l. 16 :—I mean, Pāṇḍu may be the same as Pāṇḍuraṅga, or (the white form of) Vishṇu.

P. 180, fn. 1 :—The letters 'ch' in *Charon* are to be pronounced as 'k'; so, I presume, they may be also in 'Acheron'.

P. 184 :—It may be, perhaps, unnecessary to prove the identity of Śamba and Śiva, by proving the identity of Sāmba and Pradyumna (see p. 166 and 184); for it is recognized in Hindu mythology. Sāmba is in fact an epithet of Śiva. And if Apollo is Sāmba, can we not identify the festival of *Boedromia*, held at Athens in honour of *Apollo Boedromios*, on the 6th day of the month Boedromion (September-October), with the Śiva-rātra festival, which falls in the Bhādra-māsa or Bhādrapada-māsa (that corresponds not unoften, as in the year 1942, with September-October)?

P. 186, fn. 6 :—Herodotus speaks of a wooden cow (caused to be made by Mycerinus, son of Cheops), which had between her horns "a representation in gold of the orb of the sun".

P. 209 :—According to Herodotus, all dead cats were taken to the city of Bubastis (near Zagazig, in Lower Egypt) and buried in certain sacred repositories. Mice were worshipped at Memphis (also in Lower Egypt) as emblems of generating and producing principle. This custom seems to have been current also amongst the people of Troas, Troja or Troy.

P. 229, fn. 4 :—Of the neolithic and subsequent pottery the funerary urns found in India resemble those excavated from the regions round the Alban lakes near Rome, and Etruria (Rangacharya, l. c., I. 146).

P. 230:—About the unreliable nature of the Danaos, I quote the following Latin adage :—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

P. 242, fn. 7 :—The milk or honey-offerings made to the Apsarasas bespeak of their original identity with the Mother Goddess.

P. 243, l. 19 :—Budha certainly finds a philological equivalent in the name of Wodan (German), Woden (Anglo-Saxon), or Odin (Norse or Scandinavian), who was also looked upon as "a patron of culture, inventor of runes, and god of wisdom, poetry, magic and prophecy". (Sir J. A. Hammerton, *The Modern Encyclopedia*, p. 715). To him, Woden's day or Wednesday (=Budha-vāra) was sacred.

P. 247 :—For Ahalyā's story, read Rām., Bāla. 48-49 ; Raghu. XI. 23 f.

INDEX

[This index coxers the text and the appendices. A few new suggestions are given by way of comparison, chiefly indicated by 'Cf.' Reference to *Aditi*, *Earth*, *Father God*, *Moon*, *Mother Goddess* (M. G.), *Rudra*, *Sky*, *Sun*, *Zeus* etc. in the index may reveal or clarify a good many things.]

A

A-anni-padda, 81, 182.
Abarim, Mt., 221.
Abhrayantī, 31f., 48, 116 ; cf. 163, 185-6.
Abraham, 30, 74, 168.
Accad, 14, 18, 20, 23, 26, 55, 94, 115, 175, 179, 221.
Achæan, 24, 226, 229-30.
Acheron, 180.
Aditi, 44-6, 50, 52, 67, 69, 82-4, 92, 110, 112, 116, 118, 123, 127, 153, 156, 158, 160, 171, 185, 186, 188-90, 193-5, 211, 241 ; wife of Kāśyapa, cf. Kāśyapī, 29, 152 ; =Agdistis, 68, 125, 140-1, 161-2 ; =Irā (a)-Annapūrṇā, q. v., 48-9, 211 ; (b)-Vāk, q. v.; (c)-Sarasvatī, q. v. Mother of suns or gods, Ādityas or Āditeyas, 45, 86-7, 95, 97-9, 101-2, 157, 238. Mother of serpents, = Sarpa-rājñī.
Aditya, Āditeya, v. *Aditi*, 91-2, 100, 105, 113, 122, 139, 141, 152, 188, 240.
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Aegean, 13-14, 23, 166f., 216. 227. A. Goddess, 32, 34, 48, 57, 75-6, 212, etc.
Aegeria, Egeria, 243.
Aeneas, Aineias, 243-4.
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